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Men of the Kingdom

Hildebrand: The Builder

By

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To My Mother.

CONTENTS

I. THE TIMES OF THE BUILDER, - - -	7
II. THE EVOLUTION OF AN INSTITUTION, -	23
III. THE CONDITION OF THE CLERGY, - -	39
IV. THE SWAY OF THE GERMAN POPES, -	55
V. THE-CORNER STONE OF PAPAL FREEDOM,	73
VI. THE POWER BEHIND THE PAPAL SEE, -	87
VII. THE PLAN OF THE MASTER BUILDER, -	103
VIII. THE CHALLENGE BY THE CHURCH, -	126
IX. THE CLIMAX AT CANOSSA, - - -	144
X. THE ENCOUNTER WITH THE EMPIRE, -	157
XI. THE HILDEBRANDINE EPISTLES, - -	183
XII. THE MAN AND HIS MISSION, - -	202

CHAPTER I.

THE TIMES OF THE BUILDER.

SUTRI, anciently known as the Key of Etruria, holds, with its compact stone structures, the entire crest of one of the elevations that border the plains of Central Italy. From it, range after range of delicate mountain distance is discernible. Volscian, Sabine, and Alban Hills, with Soracte, sung by Horace, nobly beautiful, rise out of the soft, quiet lines of Campagna, while the Tiber winds away out of the meadow-lands until it is lost from sight before it reaches Rome, thirty miles to the south. In this cliff-perched town, as first in territorial proximity within the Patrimonium Petri, there was held on December 20, 1046, one of the momentous Councils molding the relations between the Church and the State. Henry the Third, the strongest and the ablest in the line of German kings, had made with majesty and splendor a first visit to his Italian possessions. Boniface, Margrave of Tuscany, the leading prince of the land, tendered magnificent receptions. The Imperial Court convened at Piacenza.

But the more urgent business of the time

was a call from the Archdeacon Peter, of the Church Universal, for the Cæsar from beyond the Alps to intervene in the tangled affairs of the Papacy. Its demoralized condition was rather inelegantly set forth in the statement that the Church had three husbands. Benedict IX performed his ministrations at the Church of St. John Lateran, Gregory VI at St. Peter's, and Sylvester III at Santa Maria Maggiore. The first of these Popes was the relative and creature of the Tusculum counts, the masters of the Roman nobility. Elevated to the supreme office of the Church, just before he entered his teens, the following dozen years of his life were given to bringing foul disgrace upon the sacred duties of his position. The populace had for very shame's sake driven him away and chosen a second Pope in the person of John of Sabina, who took the title of Sylvester III. Benedict was disposed at first to acquiesce, being eager to marry a young woman of the city. Disappointed in this venture, his powerful friends helped him to assume again the tiara.

The third disputant for authority was in many respects a worthy man, of a certain purity of intention, and he represented in curious contradiction the struggling forces which were to reform the Papacy. John Gratian, the rich archpriest of the St. John at the Lateran Gate, had bought deliberately from Benedict IX the title of Pope, taking the name of Gregory VI. The bargain was freely applauded

by Peter Damiani and the adherents of the Cluniac movement. It was hailed as an omen of better times. But the vender of holy things seemed to rue the trade, since in two years Gregory had secured little actual authority, though resorting to aggressive measures, while pillage, disorder, sacrilege, and general insecurity prevailed in the Papal territory.

At Sutri then, accordingly, a Council of Bishops and Roman clergy, in company with King Henry, heard the claims of the three rivals. Benedict anticipated action in his case by resigning a second time. Sylvester was removed by the Council even from his priestly office, and sentenced to life imprisonment in a convent. Gregory VI, by virtue of his office, had the presiding seat in the assembly, and, in the absence of any procedure of impeachment, the bishops quite cleverly asked this remaining contestant to describe the method by which he secured his election. The simple narrative revealed the glaring impropriety of his elevation, so that Gregory impulsively and honestly exclaimed: "In doing what I did, I hoped to obtain the forgiveness of my sins and the grace of God. But now I see the snare into which the enemy has trapped me. Tell me what I must do." The bishops could answer simply, "Judge thyself," adding the exhortation: "It will be better for thee to live like the holy Peter, poor in this world and to be blessed in another, than like the magician Simon, whose example misled thee, to shine in riches here and re-

ceive hereafter the sentence of condemnation." The thoroughly penitent Gregory then proclaimed: "I, Gregory, bishop, servant of servants of God, pronounce that on account of the heretical simony which took place at my election, I am deposed of the Roman See." The Council acquiesced, and adjourned to Rome.

However, now it is to be noted that, in the record of this assembly, there first appears in the public history of the affairs of the Church and the Empire the name of Hildebrand. This man was apparently a humble clerk in the household of Gregory VI, but his influence henceforth in all ecclesiastical relations for the succeeding forty years was to be continuous, and ultimately absolute. In direct defiance of the judgment passed at Sutri upon his master as a usurper, and in high loyalty to him, Hildebrand will later assume designedly the title of Gregory VII. A Synod of twenty-four prelates met in St. Peter's on December 22, 1046, and there was directed by Henry III to elect a Pope. The Romans protested that they did not possess the right of choice, and declaring the German sovereign the Patricius of Rome, they asked him to name the new successor of St. Peter. Henry III had been received into the city with extravagant acclaims of joy. Never before or since was there a foreign ruler so welcomed to the world's capital. He thereupon assumed the green mantle, the golden circlet, and the ring, emblematic of the Patriciate,

and took by the hand Suidger, Bishop of Bamberg, who became Clement II.

This German Churchman had the religious spirit and fervor of his liege lord. Henry, by his second marriage with Agnes, the daughter of William of Aquitaine, had come into close political alliance with the program of the congregation of Cluny. He had acquired Burgundy, and thus received a powerful incentive to introduce the reforms demanded by the Order, both at Rome and in Germany. In January, 1047, a Council met at the call of Clement II, and condemned in the strongest terms the widely prevalent practice of simony. But its censure could not be strictly applied, and instead of the summary degradation of those guilty of the sacrilege, the penalty was a forty days' penance. Thus a new epoch in Papal history was inaugurated, and the incidents of this crisis give a suggestive, illuminating view of some of the forces and conditions which mark the period.

The elections of the Holy See were without fixed rule or requirement. A city faction, a combination of clergy, a group of nobility, or a territorial party might be the constituency. Simony was the great evil everywhere manifest in the succession of clerical offices, even invoked by John Gratian, as above related, in the hope of bringing good to pass out of bad. In the mutual relations of Church and State the Empire was clearly the dominant force. The German rulers had supplied

the element of reform more than once when the Church was in utter demoralization. The surrender to Henry III left no bound to the imperial power in Rome. This sovereign's mind had no conception but that of the feudal relation, and while he respected the majesty of the Church, he believed the Pope should be directly bound by the authority of the civil throne. An ambitious and powerful Pope was sure to antagonize such a claim. Henceforth there is clearly foreshadowed the mighty struggle of the investiture.

The eleventh century was indeed to witness a marvelous transformation in the majesty and the authority of the official organization of the Roman Church. Its new height of power has been a chief argument by its adherents for its supernatural and illimitable rights. The circumstances under which this ecclesiasticism took on a new and full life must be well comprehended at the beginning of this study. The social and political environment was of the very essence of mediævalism. It is true that the idea of imperialism and centralization given by Charlemagne to Europe in 800 A. D. was not destined to perish, for the claim of wide sovereignty asserted by Otto the Great, after an interval of a century and a half, was a pledge of the principle of nationality that would ultimately prevail. But the tendencies of the past were yet in the eleventh century all powerful, and feudalism flourished at its height.

Europe was divided into hundreds of small territories, independent of one another, each having its own ruler, army, coinage, laws, and customs. There was no compact, homogeneous France, Italy, or Germany. The last State consisted of a score of larger duchies and principalities, and a multitude of margraviates, landgraviates, and bishoprics, many of them of petty significance in population and actual power. In addition, the continent was broken up into an apparently infinite number of tribes and tongues. There were Saxons, Suabians, Frisians, Franks, Czechs, Slavs, Moravians, and a host of others east of the Rhine. In the west, France could show almost as varied an assortment. Italy was a turmoil of Lombard, Tuscan, Norman, and Greek; so that Europe at large seemed to be in a condition of utter incoherence. Nevertheless, the stirrings of a new political order were to be felt within the hundred years. In England, Canute had caught the spirit of the coming ages, and, as the real organizer of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, had his visions of a four-parted empire.

The son and grandson of the founder of the new French dynasty of the Capetians held sway for more than half of the eleventh century. But the royal domain was very scanty, having for its chief content the ancient foundation of Isle de France, along the Seine, in the region of Paris. Just as powerful rulers as Robert II and Henry I were the feudatory counts and dukes of Brittany,

Normandy, Flanders, Gascony, Toulouse, and Champagne.

Spain was yet in embryo, but Portugal had seceded from Castile into an autonomous existence. Leon and Castile formed a temporary union, which, after a period of separation, brought completed statehood. Navarre and Aragon were of shifting importance, while the Moors strongly held the south of the peninsula. Poland, in the valley of the Vistula, had just entered into the international Christian fellowship, under its able ruler Boleslas, through its acceptance of the orthodox religion; and Hungary, renouncing its Turanian antecedents, had completed its astounding transformation under the sovereign who abandoned the old name of Waik, and sought baptism into the Roman communion as Stephen. No uniformity of national advance existed in this period, though in various ill-expressed forms Europe had assumed the outlines familiar to modern eyes.

Easily first, Germany took the leadership by virtue of the revival of the Holy Roman Empire. Voltaire's arraignment that the so-named State was neither Roman nor holy would leave little possibility of a political entity, but the German foundation had its full measure of reality, in so far as consistent with the feudal disposition of the Teuton. Granted that the Holy Roman Empire was more of a shadow than a substance, the ideal it embodied is the clue to the activities and ambitions of the successive

dynasties of Saxon, Franconian, and Hohenstaufen rulers. In the main, they had vigorous support in their immediate native possessions. To the kingly scepter of Germany was added the iron crown of the Lombards at Milan. Then the imperial diadem, bestowed at Rome, completed the most majestic authority of the age and the continent. In practical statesmanship, Henry III had proven himself a worthy successor to the noblest Cæsar of classic days. But this imperial sway included two remote, dissimilar, and uncongenial peoples. The absence of a German ruler from Italy meant opportunity for the ambitions of the most restless elements in Christendom. The succession of a new emperor was usually marked by a bitter contest for the control of Italy. Many feudal barons acknowledged only under compulsion the Northern master, and the Saracens held fast to the south of Italy and to Sicily. The Crescentii ruled in Sabina, the Sequi in Campagna, but the mightiest figure at the middle of the eleventh century was Boniface of Tuscany, the grandson of Ezzo, Lord of Canossa. His father, Tedald, had secured Ferrara, Mantua, Modena, and Brescia. The favor of the emperor gave Boniface the possessions of Rainer of Tuscany, with marriage to Beatrice, daughter of Frederick, Duke of Upper Lorraine, one of the two immortal heroines of the Hildebrandine contest.

Interest centers in the city of Rome, whose government was a close senatorial body that held the

magistracy and judicial powers. There was no higher class strong enough to form the basis of a secular constitution. The Papacy had its program, which was hostile to civic progress. The nobles exercised the real power, and they contended with both emperor and Pope. The ruling force was supplied by the Tusculum family. The stronghold of this house, older than Rome itself, was fifteen miles distant from Rome. Here was the seat of Cicero's Academy, and the villa that gave to literature the Tusculan Disputations. From this impregnable town its counts had lorded it over the Latin mountains and part of Campagna, and the masters of the eleventh century claim direct descent from the mighty Alberic, last senator of Rome, and the infamous Marozia. They furnished the candidates either for the Papacy or the tyranny of the civil government of Rome. The Eternal City at this epoch, according to the account of Gregorovius, bore mute but eloquent testimony to the ravages of rival parties and unending warring factions. The narrow, irregular streets wore a gloomy, threatening appearance. The dwellings, of rough exterior and fortress like, arose on the foundations of classic sites. The relics of antiquity, splendid columns of Corinthian and Ionic patterns, were used to decorate these mansions. No protection was afforded to the ruins of theaters, arches, and baths.

Fish were exposed for sale on blocks of rarest

marble, once the seats of the mightiest rulers. The sarcophagi of heroes served as cisterns and troughs. The churches were foremost in appropriating the plunder of past grandeur and beauty. Citadels of offense and defense were constructed here and there by the contending nobles, while the poor lived among the vaults and recesses of foundations. The Palatine was a show-place, with its colossal remains of the imperial palaces. The Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline Hills contained a minor portion of dwellings, but the Cœlian and the Aventine were thickly populated. Streets were named for churches and for monuments. The Via Lata was the most splendid quarter. The Via Pontificalis ran through the Field of Mars to St. Peter's. This church, with the castle of St. Angelo, was beyond the Tiber, and comprised what was known as the Leonine City.

However varied and distinctive is this survey of territory, nation, race, and government, these years after the first Christian millennium furnish an array of names that compare favorably with those of other early centuries. There were the firm-hearted, erudite Lanfranc; the loyal, orthodox Anselm, Abbot of Bec; Urban II, the herald of the heroic Crusades; William the Conqueror, the maker of the larger England; Sancho the Great; Alphonso, the ruler of Castile and Leon, and the legendary Cid Campeador. This is the age of the sturdy, artistic Norman cathedral-builder, the

epoch of the series of monastic revolutions, the Cluniacs, the Camaldules, the Cistercians, and the Carthusians.

But these worthies and reformers make but a background to the greatest figure of all. One genius plays the part that stamps him for all time among earth's mightiest. Hildebrand is the name most potent of his age, and with the greatest posthumous influence by reason of his deeds. Few historical characters have had such conflicting accounts of their lives and deeds. Every contemporary writer was a partisan for or against the policy of this revolutionist. The same controversy descends to modern times, and it is doubtful if a unanimity of judgment has yet been reached. The fame of his later life cast back preternatural splendor on his early days, and his chroniclers have furnished a mass of material that is for the most part untrustworthy.

Hildebrand was born probably in 1018, in or near Saona, a town at the southern border of the Tuscan marches. This is a few miles from Orbistello, on the Mediterranean, and less than one hundred miles from Rome. His father was named Bonizo, and was a carpenter, or, in the opinion of others, a goatherd.

At his baptism the child received the German name of Hildebrand, which was modified by the Italian pronunciation to Hellebrand. The hostile German punsters changed this into Höllebrand, or

Brand of Hell, while the zealous monkish adherents interpreted it as Hellbrand, a pure flame, using as a basis the many legends of supernatural signs of favor and Divine choice that were associated with his youth. The world has always known him by the simple baptismal name, Hildebrand, the greatest hero of the Roman Church. The man, in his conceptions and conduct, was greater than the office to which he came, so the final judgment of history has given the Papal title of Gregory Seventh a secondary place to the humble cognomen of his infancy. For there is no doubt of his lowly, peasant origin, and his career is a brilliant testimony of the democracy that obtained in the ecclesiastical system of Rome, whereby the lowest not infrequently came to the highest seats of honor. One of the greatest elements of strength through the centuries, reckoned next to its faith, was this opportunity given by the hierarchy to the common man for every preferment.

Innumerable stories describe the precocity of the lad, evidently pointing to the truth that he had more than usual intelligence. The advice was given to the carpenter that his son be allowed to follow letters, and in that day it meant the Church. Happily there was a maternal uncle in Rome, the abbot of the Monastery of St. Mary on the Aventine. This kinsman held the third place among the twenty assisting the Pope in the mass. Famous men came frequently to the retreat of this monastery, among

them, Odilo, the saintly Abbot of Cluny, and Laurentius, the learned Bishop of Amalfi. The youth pursued the courses of the trivium and quadrivium, as then given. The teaching comprised the ready use of the Latin language, the rules of rhetoric and dialectics, the reading of the fathers and holy books, the ritual, and chanting. All this breathed the inmost spirit of the Church, and it was of vital moment for his career that he was able to study at Rome, since here all the sanctity, science, and refinement of the West converged. The authority of the Apostolic See was ever before his mind, so that later Hildebrand could say that "St. Peter has nourished me from infancy beneath his wings, and has fostered me in the lap of his clemency."

The disposition of the student was congenial to his surroundings, and he practiced the severe regulations of the Benedictines. Self-denial in the most trivial things taught him that rigor which he laid upon mankind. It was both his discipline and his pride to triumph over every indulgence of the senses. But this monastic perfection was attained at that period only in the foundation of Cluny. Thither, in Burgundy, Hildebrand went to the strictest religious house in Europe. Here his faculties were fully trained for every encounter of the future, and advanced courses taken in the arts and theology. Cluny was beautiful in location and surrounded by highly cultivated gardens. The purest, ablest minds of the times were assembled here, so

that in this congenial company the zealous neophyte might well have decided to remain permanently. He gave himself likewise to solitude and to meditation on the condition of the Church and of society. The depth of his devotion would possibly seem to incline him to prefer this retreat, but he possessed a restless desire for activity.

Plans for reformation were in his heart; but when the program was revealed to the abbot, the only counsel he received was, "Pray, be pure, and hope for the best." Several years were spent at Cluny (some have estimated between the ages of sixteen and twenty-three). In the end he was a thorough monk; but there is no record as to where the novitiate was finished and the profession made, whether at St. Mary's or Cluny. He had been strengthened and tempered; asceticism had made him fit in character, while, of paramount value to his future success, the powerful monastic order of St. Benedict was knit to him by bands of steel. Hildebrand returned to Rome, likely on some errand for his order. A further tradition makes him deciding to leave Rome in despair of his improving affairs, when a vision of St. Peter came to him, calling him to return to the place of trial and service. His former instructor, John Gratian, having become Pope Gregory VI, in 1046, the young monk was attached to the Papal service as a chaplain, though he was only in sub-deacon's orders. He also served as clerk and gave his zealous sup-

port to the program of law and order which his patron tried to establish. When the fickle populace preferred anarchy and rapine, and the Council of Sutri gave its decrees, Hildebrand gladly followed the deposed Pope to his retreat upon the Rhine, and within a few months became his heir. No place was then so inviting as Cluny, and its welcome portals received its son, whom speedily the monks elected to the office of prior. The new spirit aroused in the Church will not allow the talents and energy of this Cluniac exponent to remain remote from the heat of the contest, and his great career was soon to start.

CHAPTER II.

THE EVOLUTION OF AN INSTITUTION.

As a religion grows in social influence and obtains wide application in the lives of persons and of a nation, it is necessary to consider it as an institution. There will have arisen a ritual, a priesthood, a constitution, and a theology. The centuries of propaganda, persecution, and apology in the history of our Christianity are fundamental and formative. But the Church as it concerns the history of Europe came to be identified with the foundation of Rome.

Machinery can never dispense with actual power, while form and symbol are vain without the enduement of the Spirit. For centuries the Roman Church, with its hierarchy, stood as the embodiment and supreme guide of Christianity. In St. Augustine's "City of God," the book of consolation for the believer of the fifth century and after, the ideal society was readily identified with a centralized Catholic Church.

The ecclesiastical power and command were the result of a complex growth, and the evolution of the institution must be traced in order to com-

prehend its culmination under the mastery of Hildebrand. Territorial, political, doctrinal, and personal factors, all contributed to this steady, triumphant advance. After Christianity became the State religion under Constantine, the Church at Rome was free from persecution. Its bishops ranked high, but not paramount to those of Alexandria and elsewhere. The location in the Eternal City, the ancient capital of the world's civilization, contributed primarily to the alleged priestly pre-eminence. The removal of the center of the civil government of the Empire to Constantinople gave a decisive opportunity for preference and influence to the Bishop of Rome. The many traditions of political greatness and the unlimited claims of hierarchical supremacy combined to the upbuilding of this sovereign institution, the Papacy. The doctrinal moderation of Rome assisted in the winning of a wide prestige for its authority. It remained firm in its adherence to the decision of the Council of Nicæa in the Athanasian controversy, while there was division in the Church of the East.

It was liberal to those who had denied the faith under persecution, as had even Cyril, named the Pope of Carthage. It decided that the ordinance of baptism need not be administered the second time, even though the original sacrament had been given by an unworthy official. In all matters the Church of the West adopted the broad practice, and opened its doors to those who in good faith

wanted to be admitted. Here, then, was a vigorous mother Church, with its branches throughout Italy, and a policy of aggressive missionary expansion into the regions beyond. Churchmen of rare courage, of conspicuous Christian service, and of boundless ambition made their additions also to the growing structure. The first formative leader was Leo I, justly named the Great. His tact in shaping the doctrinal decision at the Council of Chalcedon against the contention of Eutychus, and his brave opposition to Attila the Hun, when his city was in danger of capture, fixed the primacy of Rome beyond cavil or doubt. His practice was to seize every opportunity for asserting and enforcing the authority of his See. Also the Emperor Valentinian III ordered the obedience of all Churches throughout Gaul to the Pontiff. But, besides this human, natural leadership, there was a desire for the Divine sanction of the authority of the Church of Rome, and it was Leo I who laid the corner-stone of the hierarchy by his emphasis of the imperative conditions of the doctrine of the Petrine Supremacy.

The dogma that the Pope was the successor of Peter came to be held by the faithful as of equal validity with the Incarnation and the Resurrection. The Pope, who was both saint and statesman, Gregory First and likewise the Great, gave the ideal of the perfect episcopal life. His Pontificate came in 590, after a period of confusion and decay

in the Church. He tried in many ways to avoid his election, and, when in office, refused the title of Pope or universal bishop. By the faithfulness of his ministrations, by his comprehensive policy, by his missionary zeal, by his attention to the minute details of a vast and varied administration, by his care as a true shepherd of souls, he gave a spiritual leadership to Rome that was incomparable and invincible. These two Churchmen can scarcely be considered as thorough Popes; for, in a mediæval sense, the Holy Father must have both spiritual and secular sway. They were more of the nature of moral patriarchs. But the temporal element came to cast its shadow over the religious. Earthly ambitions were satisfied only with the possession of things of sense to be measured and handled. Gregory II, in 726, asserted first the separateness of the Church from the jurisdiction of the Empire, when Leo of Constantinople would enforce his decree against the worship of images upon the West. Gregory III reaffirmed this new independence of Rome from temporal control when he did not seek the customary Eastern confirmation of his election. Later he called upon Karl Martel for protection against the assaults of the heretical Lombards of North and Central Italy. The Franks accepted the military guardianship of the Church, and soon the donation of Pepin to Stephen, in 755, started the Papacy on its perilous career of landed proprietorship. The keys of twenty-two cities, cap-

tured from the Lombards through the Apennines and along the Adriatic, were handed over by the Frankish king, and the Patrimonium Petri thus attained a local habitation. But the Pope did not enter into the administrative possession of this territory; it was held rather in the relation of fealty. Next, a partnership for mutual benefit was struck with Charlemagne, and Leo III assumed before the world the right and the power to crown officially, on Christmas day, the mightiest sovereign of the new barbarian civilization. This was a momentous reversal of the relations of Church and State, and the fact of an emperor on his knees before St. Peter's confession was worked into an enduring mosaic for the gaze of the rulers and potentates throughout the Middle Ages. The sure basis of the ecclesiastical and temporal supremacy of the Church was finally laid by Nicholas First, and likewise the Great, in his episcopacy from 858 to 867.

Apparently the higher the ground of authority that he assumed, the more certain was acquiescence and obedience to follow. He was called to mediate in the affairs of the Eastern Church, and gave his decision as an absolute, independent high priest. Nicholas announced to Constantinople that no appeal could be made from the authority of Rome, that the privileges of Rome were eternal, derived from no Council, but granted directly by God Himself. Also this Pontiff established the sway of the

unlimited hierarchy. The independence of the Gallican Church was broken, and the lowliest priest became directly amenable to the Holy See, rather than to the metropolitan bishop. The king, Charles the Bald, brought the aid of the State to wrest from the learned Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, the power and right of discipline of suffragans. The weakness of the Carolingian rulers gave Nicholas a free hand. The unjust divorce proposed by King Lothaire from his faithful wife allowed the Pope to become the authoritative, universal champion of public morality. A much-needed standard of righteousness for the royalty was established, and all the penalties of the Church stood ready to enforce this laudable censorship. Nicholas also affirmed that the grant of imperial power must be confirmed by the authority of the Holy See, and he sent out his legates to be the advisers of rulers. The outlines and the spirit of these pretensions to the supremacy of the Papacy had been foreshadowed in his predecessors, but this Pontiff by his unequalled opportunities and his masterful aggressiveness realized and verified such absolutism as the Church had never hitherto attained. He humbled royal and episcopal power alike, and left as his heritage for mightier hands the essence of the Papal monarchy. Territory was now ruled in truly regal fashion; great wealth poured into the coffers of the Church. Nicholas also inaugurated the practice of being crowned with the tiara. Cere-

mony and ritual took on pomp and splendor, and the Church had completed its course of appropriating the ancient imperial ideals and forms. This period was momentous also by reason of the appearance and acceptance of certain forged documents, the Donation of Constantine and the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, which have been described as the two magic pillars of the Holy See.

The Donation of Constantine was first officially cited at the close of the eighth century in an implied exhortation to Charlemagne to make such bequests of land and power as the first Christian emperor was purported to have granted, when he turned Italy over to the Church and departed to found a capital on the Bosphorus. The "Donation" served frequently in the future as the sole warrant for wholesale appropriations of territory. The evil results of such a political career were set forth sadly by Dante in the "Inferno:"

"Ah, Constantine, of how much ill was mother,
Not thy conversion, but that marriage dower
Which the first wealthy father took from thee!"

The same document granted besides to the Pope and clergy such dignities as the emperor and the senate possessed. The Pope was to live in the Lateran palace, wear a diadem and a purple cloak, carry a scepter and be attended by a retinue, while the clergy were to ride on white horses and receive the honors given to patricians. The Pseudo-

Isidorian Decretals embraced a collection of fifty-nine spurious rescripts and letters, ascribed to the Popes of the first three centuries. The earliest knowledge Europe had of them was at the middle of the ninth century. They had, in all probability, been prepared at Mainz, and were used in France to advance the Church over the laity. The metropolitan strengthened his authority over the priests by means of them, when in turn Pope Nicholas cited the powers given in the Decretals to the utter defeat of Hincmar the Primate. Henceforth the vast range of control and the precedents for summary action, furnished by the fictitious Bishop of Seville, were freely employed by the ambitious Pontiffs, Hildebrand basing his weightiest principles upon the alleged decisions of this shadow Papacy.

Before these title-deeds of priestly privilege had been manufactured, the Church was not able to cite authentic records earlier than the time of Siricius in 384. Meanwhile the traditions of Councils and Pontiffs had come to possess equal validity with the Gospels and the Scriptures. Hence the irrevocable law of remote Rome, even back to the immediate successors of St. Peter himself, was created out of hand by the omnipotent ecclesiasticism. In closing this hitherto fatal gap in the records, the case for the dictatorship of the Papacy was made complete. The only justification which those can offer who profited, unchallenged for seven

centuries by these Decretals, is that such claims of authority had been put forth in some other form, if haply not by the officials erroneously accredited, and under the conditions so clearly proven by the Magdeburg Centuriatores as anachronistic. The clergy of the ninth century was the only class competent to expose the fraud, but as the entire affair was designed for its advantage, it kept silence. Thus a mass of new, unknown decrees and rescripts was accepted at Rome, where all the archives had been exclusively held in trust. Then Nicholas, never questioning nor protesting, gave his sanction to their promulgation with full authority. They ordered complete immunity to the clergy against all complaints of the laity before the Church courts. There were defined the sanctity, the rights, and the appeals of the priesthood. The Pontiff was the guardian and legislator of the faith throughout the world. The hierarchy of the priesthood furthermore supplemented with rigor the law and tradition of the Church by the ecclesiastical terrors and religious penalties enforced against the disobedient and recalcitrant. Anathema and excommunication are the common property of all religious systems, but the ban and the interdict were distinctive weapons of the Papal monarchy, used with enlarging effectiveness. Excommunication was originally expulsion, then aggressive exclusion from the enjoyment of certain religious rites, because of some delinquency in faith or life. This penalty came

finally to be inflicted for secular transgressions, and was even borrowed by the prince from the Church to increase obedience to the civil law. The received theory of religion was that the priest had the sole right to administer the sacraments, and these were essential to salvation and admission into heaven. Accordingly, here was a thunderbolt in the hands of the Church by the fear of which all Europe was ruled, since the destiny of each soul was vested in the clergy. The ban went further than the punishment of the one guilty party, and included any who would have relations with him. But most terrifying was the interdict, for it extended excommunication in a measure to an entire province or kingdom. All exterior exercise of religion was stopped. Churches were closed, the bells removed from the towers, the dead denied burial in consecrated ground and placed in the common fields. No rites were administered but those of the baptism of newly born infants and the sacrament to the dying. Marriages were performed in the churchyards, the use of meat on every day was prohibited, and people were forbidden to speak to each other, to shave their beards, or care for their dress and appearance. The penalty fell crushingly upon those who had neither partaken of the offense nor could have prevented it. The interdict was the latest resort of the Church in point of time, and its application was not so frequent until public faith in its validity had become somewhat lessened. In all

these penalties the usurpation of Divine power was received with awe and obedience. If in every instance they had been used beneficently, society would have been improved, however heavy the spiritual yoke; but employed as weapons of ecclesiastical warfare, abuses and grievous injury were inevitable.

The eight centuries and more after the kingdom of God had been revealed to men through the Son of God had witnessed in truth the small stone, cut from the mountain without hands, filling the world once known as Roman. But the organization had come to overshadow the great body of believers. Its authority, concentrated by the several agencies enumerated in this chapter, was widely though not absolutely accepted. The culmination of universal control by the Papacy in the future might be readily predicted, since the sure progress of the institution had been the evidence of an inherent vitality.

In addition to the basal religious contribution, a service of social and ethical value had been rendered. The Roman Church established a social amity of all nations by the Christian doctrine of the moral equality and responsibility of all races and peoples. The ideal of a single and indivisible humanity, and of Rome as the capital of a Christian republic, the apostolic center of the Church, came to be accepted.

Thus the Eternal City gained a new significance in its long, eventful history. That it had not per-

ished in the Teutonic attacks and was saved from the Lombards indicated that a greater career awaited it. In a loftier sense than the classical capital of the Cæsars, the metropolis of Christianity embodied a universal principle. It must be accessible to all persons. An ideal of a sacred center, a temple of eternal peace in the midst of contending humanity, a universal asylum of justice, equity, and righteousness, is one of the most sublime conceptions of mankind. Even to-day the long-cherished dream of a world's parliament, a federation of peace, delays its fulfillment. But the practice in the Church must and did fall far short of the theory, intrusted for realization to human instrumentalities. Ambition, dogmatism, worldliness were fatal barriers. As the theocracy grew less distinct and pronounced, imperialism became the goal. Always the fortunes of the Church were sharply molded by the character of its presiding officer. Although no institution in the annals of man has had so long and so mighty a line of rulers, the vicissitudes of efficiency and integrity are bewildering and extreme. If the Pope were a man of character and genius, his high office made him supreme over all interests. The makers of the Papacy, Leo I, Gregory I, Nicholas I, Hildebrand, and Innocent III, tower high as men who would have been heroes in any age or cause.

On the other hand, the degradation of the Pontificate under vicious, ignoble Churchmen or by the machinations of political factions seemed absolutely

irremediable. Such an era prevailed throughout the tenth century and later when the Church in its official organization entered into the Valley of the Shadow of Death. The record for a period of two hundred years was with a few exceptions wicked and baleful. From Nicholas to Benedict IX there were thirty-nine incumbents of the Holy See. Of these, six were murdered, five sent into exile, four deposed, and three resigned. Against many more of the list, some violent, extraordinary, or disgraceful circumstance was recorded. The corpse of one Pope was exhumed, dressed in the Papal habiliments, and before a Council arraigned for trial. The dead Formosus was sentenced to have three of his fingers cut off, to be stripped of his vestments, and thrown into the Tiber. His Papal judge in turn was soon strangled, and then the successor of the faction favorable to the condemned had a second Council, which restored all honors to Formosus, whose remains were recovered for burial in St. Peter's. One Pontiff entered into his infallibility at twelve years of age. Another took to himself a double in authority, whose function it was to be armed with the sword and join in bloody battle for Rome. Finally the temporal had become so confused with the spiritual that the son of Alberic, consul of a transitory revived democracy, took the title of John XII as he administered ecclesiastical affairs, and the title of Octavian while he ruled the city. Two-thirds of the episcopate were two

years and less in duration. Seven assumed the tiara in a period of six years. Repeatedly two claimed at the same time the full honors of the Apostolic See, and once there was a trio of contestants, as seen at Sutri. The manner of the election of the spiritual monarch for Christendom was a fruitful cause of this abasement of the institution. Rome exercised the prerogative of naming the head of the Church, and then, during the Iron Age, showed less respect to his dignity and sanctity than any other portion of Europe.

Italy was in a state of anarchy after the dissolution of the Frankish Empire, and Rome was in turn ruled by adventurous soldiers, feudal counts, democratic factions, or religious combinations. These varying constituent bodies would successively elect the Pontiff. Caprice, crime, intrigue, or gold, again and again, dictated the choice. It is not to be thought strange that this supreme official should happen to be a licentious and violent personage, or simply a colorless figurehead. Such conditions allowed the ignoble rule of the Pornocracy, and the bastard son, grandson, and great grandson of a harlot sat in the chair of St. Peter. When affairs grew intolerable, Otto the Great intervened from Germany, and in a Council removed John XII. The conditions, after this experiment equally deplorable, are vividly portrayed by Arnulf, Bishop of Orleans, in an address before a Synod in 991. He said: "Once we received from Rome the glorious Leo

and the great Gregory. What do we see in these times? When the emperor departed, John turned back, drove out Leo, lately advanced from layman to Pope, cut off the nose, tongue, and right hand of his deacon, besides murdering many of the nobles, and then died. The Romans elected Benedict V, who in turn was sent into eternal exile by the emperor, when Leo was restored briefly. Otto II succeeded Otto I, but in Rome a terrible monster, Boniface, took the Apostolic See, yet dripping with the blood of his predecessors, and surpassed all in violence and outrage." The relapse under the domination of the Consul Crescentius led Otto III to try the plan of selecting the Pope from the Germans, and the learned, pious Gerbert, as Sylvester II, took the double keys with his program of an intellectual new birth. This recovery was temporary, and, after the rule of the reforming Benedict VIII, a violent reaction took place. Then again from this hotbed of corruption, and in the very period when the Pontiff was most despised and rejected, a new life manifested itself. The independence and the integrity of the Papacy came to be a practical truth. It would seem that nothing short of a miracle could have compassed the deliverance from such profound depths of disaster and iniquity. A greater contrast between the utter decay and the sudden recovery of the same power is nowhere else found in history. With the last half of the eleventh century, Rome became, as never before,

the pillar and the ground of truth. The times were ripe to cause this startling transformation and mighty advance; but the personality of one man was the largest element in its achievement, for Hildebrand, both by inheritance and by design, entered his allotted place in the events of the world as the master-builder of the Papacy.

CHAPTER III.

THE CONDITION OF THE CLERGY.

ALONG with the abasement of the Apostolic See there existed widespread demoralization among the clergy and a low spiritual life in the laity. However unduly the historian may have emphasized the centuries from the ninth to the twelfth as the Dark Ages, there was a culmination of reaction from the ideals and teachings of earlier eras before the close of this mediæval period. The Crusades can not be named as the sole cause of the new tone and vigor which marked the life of the Church and of society. But antecedent to this quickening, the sway of feudalism had slight alleviation. The day of chivalry was not fully come. The serf lacked the hope of any possible escape from his status. However, wealth was increasing and commerce was ready for encouragement. Cities were growing in population, upon whose masses the breath of the new democracy of the communes would soon move. While these germs of material progress were thus dormant, there prevailed in the main a period of intellectual sterility. Learning was practically confined to the Church, yet a Council, held in 992, said

that scarcely a single person was to be found in Rome itself who knew the first elements of letters. Very frequently the clergy could not write or translate a Latin letter, and the homilies they preached were compiled for their use by the bishops from the writings of the Fathers. The influence of the monasteries, while at the same time they alone preserved and housed the precious manuscripts of learning, was actually exerted against ancient literature. Odilo, the holy abbot of Cluny, relates that in his youth he had been seduced by the charms of the Greek and Latin writers; but having fallen asleep one day over his beloved Virgil, he had seen in a dream his text change to a beautiful antique vase, and from it there issued a brood of writhing serpents. From that time he never again touched his classics. Great scholars and theologians were scarcely found for generations, and the brilliant Gerbert was judged by his contemporaries to be a magician.

A type of the roughness of the manners of the times may be cited in Fulk the Black, the progenitor of the Plantagenets, who rode his rebellious son with spur and bit, and then, a penitent pilgrim himself, was led by a bridle through the streets of Jerusalem. While the clergy were never more ignorant, neither had they been more sensual nor more worldly than in the eleventh century. They were rich and powerful, but exceedingly corrupt. It followed, as a natural sequence, that a lack of rectitude

and a lowering of standards in the hierarchy excused the shortcoming of the acolyte. The bishops, who should have been examples and have enforced correct living, were least qualified to employ stern measures. They were often thrust into their positions by violence or intrigue, as in the case of many elections of the Pope. A child of five years was made Archbishop of Rheims, the metropolitan authority of France; and the See of Narbonne was bought for another of the age of ten. Again, the great mass of the clergy was evilly influenced by its political and social environment. The feudal lord too frequently bent the priest to his will instead of bowing the suppliant knee to the wishes and welfare of the Church. The practice had become widespread to transform the bishops into feudal barons. The episcopate and the abbacy were more and more filled by the direction of the king or count. Through this principle of investiture exercised by the rulers, there was given control of both offices and lands. The spiritual services of the higher clergy became overshadowed by their political duties as councilors of State, ministers of princes, and governors of provinces. The helmet was now more frequently donned than the miter. It seemed that spirituality would be merged into the feudal system, and the priesthood would enjoy its rights only by secular tenure. Having the occupations of the temporal nobility, it was inevitable that the clerical chiefs assumed their manners and

habits. Dissoluteness, luxury, and unhallowed ambition prevailed with lamentable frequency. The decay in right living by the leaders brought a loss of influence over the thinking and beliefs of the people. The true public demands consistent examples of piety and virtue, and in a superstitious age expected ascetic observances, self-denial, and a rigid regimen. These standards were proclaimed by the monastic orders, or the regular clergy, as they were called, in contradistinction from the secular or ordinary clergy. Hence a superiority was accorded by the people, who paid a deeper respect to the monk than to the parish priest.

These two agencies of the Church were by no means harmonious, nor had they been equally guiltless of lapses to worldliness and sin. The secular clergy dwelt in the world among men, occupied with the care of the spiritual concerns of their communicants. In their function of the "cure of souls" they administered the sacraments as being the essence and entirety of the religious profession. The parish was the smallest ecclesiastical territory, and must contain at least ten families. The priest was admitted into his sacred calling, the "holy orders," by the bishop, and his appointment to a field of labor came from the patron of the parochial Church with the approval of the bishop of the diocese. The patron was a person, lay or clerical, to whom the church property belonged. The bishop received his place, according to the canon law, by

the election of the clergy and the people. It will be seen that the term people admitted of broad construction, for it included every landholder of the neighborhood. Since this involved the immediate feudal owner, the over-lord, and the distant prince, the determining voice in the choice of the bishop was likely to be earthly.

In connection with the duties of the bishop at the cathedral, there was required a body of secular clergy to assist. This was known as the chapter, and often its interests were opposed to that of the bishop by reason of feudal privileges and connections. The members of the chapter were known as canons, and for their discipline and direction a rule was created somewhat like the organization of the Benedictines, yet not even its milder obligations were possible to be enforced without interruption.

Monasticism came out of the East, but it developed in the West to be the most efficient instrument of the Church. Its well-known vows are poverty, celibacy or chastity, and obedience. From the foundation of St. Benedict at Monte Cassino, in 529, there was a disposition to independence of control. But the capitularies of Charlemagne placed the monks under the jurisdiction of the bishop in whose diocese they lived. This law was resisted by the Benedictines, because it assigned an inferior place to the principle of asceticism upon which their system was founded. The sentiment of Europe encouraged this antagonism, since the

belief prevailed that a monk was a better man than a priest. In spite of the nature of the monastic obligations, the history of the order reveals a strange contradiction. The pledge to poverty did not prevent the brotherhood from growing very wealthy and amassing broad acres. The obedience of the individual monk to the command of the abbot was merely the means whereby the authority of the order should be made to prevail throughout the entire social fabric. Since the monasteries held lands in feudal tenure, there developed the covetousness of the bishops and the rulers, so that Germany and France saw many struggles for their rich possessions. But the strife of the secular and the regular clergy included the more vital matters of discipline and conduct, in which the monks gave their vigorous support to the mightiest movements of the Church. Yet before this heroic service was rendered, the Benedictines had passed through not one, but many periods of relapse. Gluttony and idleness were the usual faults of the common monks, if there was nothing less venial. Lay abbots often gained control, and under their rule the cloisters were given over to revelry, sports, and vicious amusements. The cupidity, coarseness, drunkenness, and hypocrisy of the monks were more than matched by the excesses of the priests. However, in the case of the secular clergy it is just to recall, that the doctrine had been evolved that the chief part of the priestly function was to administer

the sacraments by which Divine grace was conveyed from God to man.

Now for the efficacy of this service it was held that the personal character of the priest was not a matter of consideration. Such a separation of the man from his religious office lost him a powerful safeguard in his private integrity, and while the Church without doubt desired an upright ministry, there was no official action to maintain it. The monk, on the other hand, had no possible excuse for a fall from rectitude, since he had voluntarily pledged himself to the strictest standard of life. Yet his high profession seemed unattainable for any length of time, and the story is an oft-repeated one of deterioration and unfaithfulness. The ideals were not forgotten, however, and there was always courage for reform. The one remedy proclaimed in every instance was more monasticism; the original principles must have a more thorough enforcing—just as to-day the cure for the ills of democracy is prescribed by some politicians to be more democracy. The most notable wave of correction in Europe went forth from the monastery of Cluny. This new center of Church life was established by the gift of a Duke of Aquitaine on the Saone River, near Macon, and placed under the direct jurisdiction of the Pope. It reaffirmed the original rules of St. Benedict, and the success of this foundation in Burgundy caused similar movements in Italy, Suabia, and Saxony. Monte Cassino, the birthplace

of the order, restored its discipline, and the Abbey of St. Mary on the Aventine, the future school of Hildebrand, was created by Alberic, the consul, to be the exponent at Rome of the revival. After Charlemagne, there had ensued a period of monastic expansion, the number of monks in Europe being said to have reached one hundred thousand. Now, the new feature which Cluny contributed was its supervision. The abbot of the parent society had an oversight of all the monasteries which had accepted the reformed life. His power fairly rivaled that of the Pope himself, and the number of institutions which composed the powerful "Congregation of Cluny" reached many hundreds, if not two thousand. Very soon Cluny was known as a party with a program. These monks knew the political axiom that policies are promoted and results attained through agitation and organization. Emperors enrolled themselves as partisans, and even before the crucial campaign of the later eleventh century the combination of prince, Pope, and Cluny had made a stir in the West.

The paramount service of the "Congregation" was the advocacy of the two reforms of which Hildebrand became the victorious champion. The two notorious clerical crimes, the gravest violations of ecclesiastical law, were simony and concubinage. The terrible abuse, appropriately known as "simony," accompanied the practice of investiture. The name took its origin from the New Testament

narrative where the magician Simon asked the apostles for the gift of the Holy Spirit, offering to pay money in exchange for it. The condemnation by Peter on that day fixed forever the attitude of the Church to all material considerations. "Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money." (Acts viii, 30.) In the accepted doctrine, the imposition of the bishop's hands was believed to impart the Holy Spirit, so that the buying and selling of ordination, the priestly function, and of admission into monastic orders, and any traffic in ecclesiastical offices, were regarded as simony. The canonical usage required the election of officials by the clergy and the people, and, in the case of abbots, by the members of the order. Sovereigns once had merely ratified the choices; but with the growth of feudalism and the right to rule over extensive territory, it became the custom to grant the honors and estates upon the condition of the payment of money. Charlemagne is said to have introduced the ceremony of placing the ring and crosier in the hands of the bishop, as symbolic of his spiritual authority, usurping this prerogative from the archbishop. The continuance of this practice by other princes fastened upon all those who ministered in holy things a subordination with infinite capacity for evil. But simony was an abuse of clerical as well as of secular patrons, for bishops and princes alike were possessed by an excessive

greed. The lower offices in the Church could not be obtained without a payment to those higher in control. In modern phrase, the prevalent system would readily be catalogued as "ecclesiastical graft." The Church of Milan had the evil repute of prices fixed by its archbishop for each office of the inferior clerks.

The causes which had produced this lamentable situation were numerous and powerful. A career in the Church brought high social distinction, and great families contrived to have their sons, irrespective of their fitness, placed in the influential offices. The bishop or the abbot also enjoyed political pre-eminence. His sway of lands gave his voice weight in the Council chamber, and the German rulers devised that the Church dignitaries should be a balance against the feudal nobility. The sordid, material motive entered, in that the treasury of the prince was filled by the contributions from these lucrative positions. Feudalism was of the nature of a bargain, a *quid pro quo*, protection matched against service, and the cash, or its equivalent, was a return for the chance to be ordained. From the excuse of the Churchman, that his possessions would be used by him for pious purposes, it was a short step to where he coveted the wealth for its personal gratifications. The riches of the Church proved to be the deadly peril of its agents. Offices not being bestowed for merit or service, every degree of corruption and inefficiency was

possible. Sycophants, adventurers, court buffoons, and the half-witted offspring of royalty, became lofty prelates. The evil influence upon the clergy was most appalling. Rapacity and all human passions prevailed, while avarice, luxury, and prodigality poured in like a flood. The priest lost his concern for the spiritual welfare of his flock. All things were measured by the secular standard. The religious interests of the diocese were displaced by the necessity to work for the material aggrandizement of the See, while the relations of the bishop and his subordinates tended to be chiefly commercial. The effect of simony on society was equally disastrous. The layman could say truthfully, every ecclesiastic has his price. When the Church forfeited its leadership, there was no other power left to guide men. When the guardians of the higher standards of conduct were recreant to the faith once professed, the public of Europe fell into the deeper mire of sin and worldiness.

For centuries the great Councils had sounded the alarm against simony. Popes had denounced it, and the wise Sylvester II demanded its suppression. Yet even Pontiffs continued to purchase the Holy See. It remained for the true Christian Emperor Henry III to open the warfare, when, in 1044, before an assembly of German clergy, he commanded the extermination of the practice.

The second vast reform that Cluny stood for was the celibacy of the clergy. This was an obliga-

tion on the monk; but the secular clergy had not accepted the standard, for they lived in formal marital relations, or possessed women and concubines. This was almost a universal custom, and Lombardy in Italy was foremost in the practice, Milan being the very center of opposition to celibacy. The German and French clergy in large part were married, and England had failed to prevent the canons from taking the same step as its parochial clergy. Even the prohibitive vow of the Benedictines had been broken; for the fiery apostle, Peter Damiani, in his book entitled "Gomorrhah," exposed the nameless sensual vices that polluted the monastic life. But the pledge to chastity was the very essence of asceticism. An Oriental idea of the inalienable evil of matter had helped the prevalence of the notion that celibacy was the condition most favorable to Christian perfection. It had been the state of the foremost saints, and the worthies of the first four centuries followed the precept of St. Paul, rather than the practice of St. Peter. This ideal for the clergy was popularly approved early in the West, so that it is not strange that, in 365, the Spanish Council of Elvira passed the first order against the marriage of the clergy. This principle was formally incorporated in the Latin Church, in 385, by a decretal of Siricius. The Church of Africa accepted the ruling; but the Cisalpine division was disposed to compromise in its obedience. The law remained, forbidding any

relations with women, but, by the connivance of the superior officers, the restrictions were not enforced. Gregory I, in 590, tried a measure of reform, but his main efforts were to prevent a second marriage of priests. The Bishop of Metz, in 762, gave a new impetus to the movement by increasing the control of the bishops over the lives of canons; yet wedlock was freely resumed in the next century. The sin, in fact, of the Popes stood in the way of enforcing the principle. Next, a new penalty was provided that forbade the children of priests to be appointed to the offices of the Church. Restrictive legislation was resumed at the Council of Augsburg in 952, the plan now being devised of inflicting stripes on the women. The Bishop of Verona proposed, in 987, to debar married priests from their functions, and the Emperor Otto agreed to sustain the action. Such a revolt was raised thereupon by the clergy that the prosecution was stopped.

Henry II, called the King of the Priests, at the Synod of Pavia, in 1022, protested against the general laxity of the times, and Benedict VIII published edicts that, unless their wives were abandoned, the married clergy would be suspended from office. Their children were made serfs of the Church, and the women in many instances were whipped or banished. But the habits of long standing did not speedily change, even though both the Papal and the imperial sentence had been pro-

nounced against concubinage. A bitter defense by the priests with families ensued against the rigorous program of the Cluny congregation. Clearly it would contribute signally to the advance of the power of the Papacy should celibacy prevail. Pontiff and monks alike were working for the absolutism of the Church. In excluding its other ministers from domestic life, their entire affection would be centered upon the religious organization. It became home, family, occupation, sustenance, the very existence, the all in all, of the man who had taken its vows. The observance of chastity separated the clerical orders from the people by an impassable barrier, and in the practice of its austerities they earned the reverence to which they laid claim.

Another concern of the Church was that its rich possessions should be preserved for it inalienably. If marriage became the accepted rule, then the property of the priest would be transmitted by descent. This practice did obtain for a time in Spain, and fathers elsewhere used many devices to make secure the future of their sons. Then, if violation of the long established but little honored rule were to occur, the dignitaries objected less to concubinage than to marriage with its rights of inheritance. As long as clerical conduct did not harmonize with the canon law, there was grave peril in store. One sin led to others more grievous. The female partners were too frequently everything that was base. When consistency was lost,

all sorts of excesses followed. The frailties of the leaders of the spiritual kingdom, which have been recounted, tell the familiar story of the power of sin over the human heart.

The cause of Christ had been wounded in the house of His friends. Happily, however, there were those who ceased not to lift their voices against wickedness in high places. The vision of the pure heart, clean hands, and loyal service was ever cherished by the faithful. The despondent took inspiration again in the thought that the Christian religion had been the great moral element of the centuries. It was the one agency that had acted visibly on the lives of men. It was the natural protector of the poor, the weak and the helpless. It yet taught the reverence of women, benevolence to all classes, and personal self-denial. It constantly elevated the noblest elements of human nature in its religious, moral, and social instincts. Its influence was ever exerted to minimize the evils of feudalism. The disastrous failure of mediæval government occurred in its administration of justice. There was a widespread absence of law, and no adequate authority existed to enforce what was right and equitable. Personal justice came to prevail, and feudalism permitted private warfare to settle grievances. To stop this practice both the secular and the regular clergy of France and of Germany joined their forces. The Church directed its members to observe the "Peace of God;" that is, to

refer all disputes to the civil tribunals. Failure to obey, however, could be punished only with the spiritual penalties. The tenth century was still too warlike to stop all fighting, so the clergy had to compromise in "the Truce of God." This pledged the feudal baron to keep the peace from Wednesday night until Monday morning in each week. This prohibition became more effective in the eleventh century, as its sanction changed from the *Gottesfrieden* to the *Landesfrieden*. The peace of the land was proclaimed by the king or emperor, and must be obeyed under pain of civil punishments. The Pope added his confirmation by incorporating the reign of peace in the canon law. Such a union of Pontiff, emperor, and clergy of all classes was an earnest of what the Christian sentiment of Europe could accomplish, if it set itself resolutely to correct the abuses which sapped the strength of the Church. These frailties and sins were ever a challenge to some zealous soul of dauntless faith. It remained for Hildebrand to become the peerless champion of principles hitherto advanced in weakness and falling upon the ears of those who contemptuously disregarded or wantonly disobeyed the truth.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SWAY OF THE GERMAN POPES.

IN the history of the Holy Roman Empire, Mr. James Bryce gives an elaborate exposition of the theory of the Church and State in the Middle Ages. He says that the two great ideas bequeathed by an expiring antiquity were those of a World Monarchy and a World Religion. The relation of the imperial and the Papal power is explained under the emblem of body and soul. The emperor was God's Vicar in matters temporal, and the Pope, Vicar in matters spiritual. Opposition between two servants of the same king is inconceivable, and thus is created a perfect plan for the union of Church and State. But such an accord of Papal and imperial authority was impracticable and unhistoric. It may have existed in a measure under Charlemagne; then again more accurately with Otto III and Sylvester II, and possibly, having the emphasis on the imperial part, under Henry III and Leo IX. This ideal equilibrium of interests never long endured, and it was a broad sweep from the Papacy as an appanage of Germany to the extravagant profession of Boniface VII, who shouted as he grasped a

scepter and a sword, "I am Cæsar, I am the Emperor!"

The history of the city of Rome is distinct from that of Italy, yet it has much of obscurity as to its internal affairs from the seventh to the eleventh centuries. Its position with that of the Church in its midst was one of political dependence. When the Exarch departed from Italy, deference continued to be paid to the Empire seated at Constantinople. The election of a Pope was reported to the East for approval. Accordingly, the choice fell most frequently on a priest of Greek descent. Doctrinal differences in the iconoclastic contest encouraged the West to the repudiation of political control. But the appeal to the Franks for aid against the Lombards by the Church was once more a recognition of the superiority of the State. It was to the material gain of the Papacy to have the imperial idea revived, and the assumption of the right to confer the title of emperor upon Charlemagne and his successors became the most valuable asset of the hierarchy. This mighty Carling was, when occasion demanded, the master in civil and doctrinal affairs, but at Rome his *missi dominici* were alone the casual signs of his authority. Under Lothaire the noted constitution was issued which provided that there should be no election to the Holy See without the consent of the emperor. The traditions of power were not lost, and the republican atmosphere encouraged self initiative. When the Franks

failed to aid against the Arab assaults, Leo IV rallied the resources of the city and decisively repulsed the invasion. In the decay of the dynasty, the Church selected the kings whom it would crown emperor, thus bringing the Empire to nothingness by the end of the ninth century. Then ensued a fictitious independence of the city that was marked by the gravest disorders. The titles of a once potent consul, tribune, or senator appear in the civil list, but the Church had fallen into the grasp of local factions, and was an institution without secular influence.

When Otto the Great brought Rome back to its subordinate place in the revived Empire, his intervention was accepted with bad grace. By the notable Constitution of Otto, in 962, the clergy once more made covenant that no election to the Pontificate should be completed until the sovereign of Germany had given approval. This relation was actively construed to mean the removal of an unworthy incumbent. Otto used his power cruelly, and was a tyrant to both Church and populace. The coronation at St. Peter's, however, restored the European prestige of the Papacy, and the feeling grew that led men to look on the Holy See as the legitimate granter of all thrones. Each Cisalpine ruler pursued the will-o'-the-wisp of Roman favor, since it came to be an accepted fact that the king of the Germans could not enter into the title of emperor until he was crowned by the Pope. Force

of arms frequently was required to compel the coveted ceremony, so that the antipathies of Roman and German grew more violent with the succession of ambitious Northern invaders. The advent of Henry II was marked by the burning of Pavia; but Conrad II fixed his mastery more securely in Northern and Central Italy by establishing the feudal code and tenure. The Church was regarded as a secular body by him, and offices were given in exchange for political services. The classification of the clergy was fashioned already like to the feudal form, and this new impetus threatened to make the conditions the same as those of a mere human organization. Under Henry III the bondage of the Church to the dictates of the State was made complete in the choice of its episcopacy. He appointed the bishops of Germany and Italy freely. To be sure, he desired worthy candidates. They must be canonically fit, as to rank and service. The emperor was hostile to simony so far as it included the actual use of money. At a Council in Germany he took oath, "As God has freely of His mere mercy bestowed upon me the crown of the Empire, so will I give freely and without price all things that pertain to His religion." But he held firmly to his right of investiture, and his policy was strengthened by the climax of power he attained in the length and breadth of his domain. From the imperialistic view-point, the notion having currency that the Church was intrusted to the State, it was

natural that Henry III entered his career of dictator of the Apostolic See. The abject surrender of the right of nomination by the Council was a sad confession of the complete abandonment at Rome. Since no worthy material was to be found there, the emperor turned to the North. In three hundred years, only two persons who were not Italians had worn the tiara. Four German Pontiffs in succession were now sent to the South. Clement II, whose elevation occurred after the momentous Council at Sutri, did not complete his first year. After an interval, Poppo, Bishop of Brixen, was selected and taken by the Margrave of Tuscany to Rome, where he assumed the name of Damasus II. Within twenty-three days he had passed away, whether by the Italian fever or Italian poison, accounts differ. The climate was a strong fortress to Italy through the ages, and had put to flight, if not to death, many a military and secular invader. Now it seemed arrayed against the clerical intrusion. There was, accordingly, a well-founded aversion among the German prelates to accept the fatal honor. But the Roman clergy resignedly asked the emperor for a third leader, and a great Council at Worms considered the request. The lot fell on Bruno, Bishop of Toul, a relative of the royal family. This was an illustrious personage. He was of attractive appearance, an able preacher, and accomplished in the sciences, especially music. He had held humble positions in the Church, and was

widely famed for his extraordinary piety. He had received a valuable training in diplomacy, for he served with credit as an ambassador to France. His disinclination to become Pontiff appears genuine. Only after three days fasting and prayer and many protestations of his unworthiness, the chroniclers declare, was Bruno willing to assume the supreme responsibilities. Yet this acceptance is said to have had a condition. When and how it was named is uncertain. It may have been a compact with Henry III. Bruno evidently came into contact with Hildebrand at once. One account is that the monk appeared in Worms, bearing a message from the new Abbot Hugh, successor of the pious Odilo. Another version is that Bruno, en route south, turned aside at Besançon to visit the monastery of Cluny. An invitation was given Hildebrand to be of the entourage to Rome, and his refusal was based on the fact that the Bishop of Toul had not been canonically chosen. The Latin biographer of Hildebrand narrates that Bruno was exhorted to accept the high office only at the hands of the Roman clergy and people. He was told that God was waiting for him to take the first step, not merely to reform, but to recreate the Church. At any rate, when Bruno appeared in Italy, he advanced by slow stages in the coarse garb of a penitent, with bare feet, leaning upon a staff and bearing the wallet of a beggar. Multitudes attended him in the cities, and a profound impression went abroad as he ap-

proached the sacred city, a pilgrim and not a Pontiff. When his proviso became known, the decree of election was passed joyfully, and on February 12, 1046, the sway of Leo IX began. The appeal to the former practice of the Church gave the German Pope an immense initial popularity. In the past he had been jealous in the assertion of the rights of his bishopric and order. In the new exalted office would he be a Churchman or an imperialist? He became one of the strong makers of the Papacy. His activities were wide and hitherto unparalleled. He abounded in resource and invention. His Pontificate brought a restoration of the dignity and influence enjoyed by the Holy See two centuries earlier. Leo IX contributed potently to the spirit of reform that had begun to make some stir.

The program that he followed may readily be called Hildebrandine. But the claim that the monk of Cluny was the entire inspiration of his career seems too extreme. Hildebrand did accompany him to Rome, and his presence was to be of more value than the royal favor of princes. It was an interval of twenty-five years before the monk entered the succession of St. Peter; but his genius found signal expression and employment from the beginning. He was appointed sub-deacon and almoner of the Pope. The Church was in a condition of abject poverty. The sacred edifices had been stripped of their furnishings and ornaments;

the productive property at Rome seized by the barons. Material succor was first needed, and the practical talents of Hildebrand secured rich gifts from the nobles of Benevento. Loans were obtained from communicants, and the friendship of influential leaders was so cultivated that the powerful Tusculum counts did not interfere with the restoration of economic independence.

Another field for the ability of the capable reformer opened in the directorship of the Convent of St. Paul Fuori le Muri. This position as superior gave a thorough test of his rare administrative powers, and the results were in miniature what he desired to bring to pass in the entire ecclesiastical body. The monastery possessed the common faults of the period. The discipline was neglected, women were freely employed in the refectory, the holy precincts desecrated by cattle, and the revenues appropriated by the adjacent seigneurs. All these delinquencies were rigorously corrected. The strictness of Cluny prevailed in the cloister. Under the new superior's rule, that strange ascendancy which his career shows him to have exercised over the minds of men displayed itself in many instances.

This reform, wrought at the very gates of Rome, was typical of the propaganda which Leo IX directed. His conception of the Papal institution was a universal one. He believed he had a mission through all Western Christendom. He must do more than sit in final judgment upon complaints

brought to him. Rather, he was to go abroad as an aggressive force to smite the sin of the unfaithful, and to make straight the paths which ran crooked in every nation. Within a month of his installation, as soon as a measure of authority and regularity was secured at the capital, the Pontiff began an extensive campaign of episcopal visitation. Four journeys were made to Germany in the course of his five years.

Near the end of the first year of Leo IX, his chief ministration to Germany occurred in the Synod at Mainz. Henry III gave the sanction of his presence, and the highest prelates attended. The Leonine program of ecclesiastical reform was published. Severe laws were recorded against simony, and certain bishops were required to take oath as to their freedom from the taint of the bargain and sale of churchly honors. The German clergy supported for the present with pride and loyalty this representative of their nation. But a sharp issue was not taken with many reprehensible practices, nor did the Pontiff press with undue rigor against his countrymen. Later the onward sweep of Papal power and its inevitable hostility to secular dictation developed an aggressive anti-Roman party to resist Leo on his subsequent missions. However, the sensational and revolutionary visit of this tour was made to France. In the past the national Church had boasted of its Gallican liberty, and now it was in arms at once against this new conception of

Papal duty. The king discouraged by correspondence the inspection, and then absented himself from Rheims with the majority of his clergy. But the Pope had the pretext that he was to engage in the consecration of the cathedral which received the remains of St. Remi, the popular saint of France, who had baptized Clovis, the first king. Great throngs from all quarters witnessed the ceremonies, and the occasion was most auspicious for the introduction of Leo IX to the people in the character of intense devotion to the canonized. The conclave which followed was a heart-searching time. The subjects before it were simony, the apostasy of monks, irregular divorces, the unworthy pursuits of the clergy, the plunder of the poor, and heresy. The character of the dignitaries was passed upon in a similar fashion to the practice of a Methodist Conference with its ministers. Every prelate, under pain of anathema, was adjured to confess publicly his sin, if he was touched by the guilt of simony. An example was made of no less a personage than the chief Churchman of France, Guido of Rheims. He was charged with various grave offenses, and after three citations he was unable to take the oath of innocency. Bishop Hugo of Langres fled rather than face investigation. Others were found guilty of simony practiced in their behalf by friends. The Pope spoke in condemnation of the prelates who, with the king, had not attended the Synod. They were summoned to Rome for judgment. Standards

were set up, and decrees entered against various abuses, which are strangely like those known to modern times in Catholic countries, where there has been little supervision of the priesthood. Bishops must be elected by the clergy and the people; the priests must not exact fees for burial, baptism, and visitation of the sick, and must refrain from usury and bearing arms. The celibacy of the clergy was not urged at this time, though Leo was actively supported in his reforms by the monastic foundations and the common people. He issued his commands as absolute sovereign of the Church, and took no account of the will of the king. The hostile clergy was unable to make a sustained resistance, and, however unwelcome the active participation of Rome in French affairs, its decrees were respected, and the condemned made the confessions necessary for their restoration.

When the resolute Pontiff returned to Italy, the authority of the Papacy had been immensely enhanced. His appeal to the religious reverence of Christendom awakened a new sense of the power of the Church. He furthermore laid the foundations for the popularity of the Holy See with the masses, which found increasing expression a century later, when democracy leagued with the Church authorities against imperialism. There remained, nevertheless, for the Roman institution locally a complexity of political and religious conditions to be adjusted. An enlarged plan of reform was

given at the Synod in the city to which Northern and Italian prelates came. The marriage of the clergy was sternly forbidden, and women who henceforth held the position of concubines were to be sold as slaves. The clergy of Rome were ordered to leave their private houses, and occupy dwellings in common under a rigid supervision. Leo IX was actively assisted in his corrective program by Hildebrand, Hugh of Cluny, and Peter Damiani. But clerical scandals were not removed. The administration of the Church could not follow a persevering scheme of reform. Its dominion through the hierarchy was not sufficiently established. The evils were strongly intrenched. Passionate opposition began to brew on account of the new strength of the Pope. The German nominees of the emperor held many bishoprics in Italy and their disposition to assert independence of Rome aroused the antagonism of the Primate. Upon the occasion of his visits to Germany he showed himself not subservient to the desires of the imperial clergy, and humiliations were put upon him. When Leo IX essayed the part of mediator between Henry III and Hungary, neither would listen to him, and his office seemed to be without political weight.

Meanwhile the enlarging influence of Hildebrand in the religious world appeared in connection with one of the first heresy trials of the Middle Ages. Already the sub-deacon had been made a cardinal, and was given charge of the offerings

when the Pope was absent on tours. At the Synod in Rome, Berenger, an Archdeacon of Tours, had been condemned on the contents of a letter sent to Lanfranc. His doctrine was copied after the belief of Erigena of the ninth century, who had denied the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. This was a reaction from the extreme utterance of Radbertus on transubstantiation, and the re-echo of Berenger affirmed that the mystery of the Holy Sacrament was a symbol. This teaching was widely promulgated in France. Berenger paid no attention to his excommunication, and was powerfully defended, even the king being kindly disposed. When the assault on the heretic became equally violent, Hildebrand went to Tours to quell the feud. But the usually stern monk on this occasion resorted to conciliation, and persuaded Berenger to sign a vague declaration of his belief in the changed nature of the sacred elements. Hildebrand was said to have promised Berenger to defend him, if he came to Rome, and not a few believed the judge was in sympathy with the doctrine condemned.

Leo IX had one more plan which made for an aggressive Papacy. He wished to be a secular prince in Italy. This desire was of signal import to subsequent Papal history. By trade with the emperor for the German possessions of the See he secured rights over Benevento. This had been held by the invading Normans, but in a brief revolt it acknowledged the control of Rome, then lapsed

again to the foreigner. The ambition of Leo IX now brought to pass one of the startling anomalies of the Roman Church. Behold the avowed representative of God resorting to war. The mildest of men figures as a martial Pontiff. In his early career he had some experience on the field of battle, but in this conflict military sagacity was lacking, a feeble support given by imperial troops, and the main reliance placed upon rabble soldiery. The Normans were first excommunicated, and told they must leave Italy. They had entered at the first of the eleventh century as pilgrims; then they had assisted in the defense of the Greek cities against the Arabs. They were desperate fighters, and had come to hold the most of South Italy. Their power was a menace, not only to Rome, but Germany itself. Hildebrand is said by some to have encouraged Leo IX to dispute their advance. Peter Damiani strenuously advised against such a course. The issue of the one battle was speedy, and the Pontiff of Christendom fell a prisoner into the hands of his unregenerate enemies. Strangely now in turn the victorious Normans became suppliants before the Pope, craved his forgiveness, and were restored to the fellowship of the Church. These rough warriors were skilled in craft as well as valor, and it served their purpose well more than once to be the defenders of the faith. Leo IX was taken to the Benevento he had coveted, as a nominal prisoner. His humiliation over his defeat was in-

tense, and he gave himself to extreme self-denial. Much of the day and night was spent in prayer. His couch was a mat on the ground, and his pillow a stone. Yet he ruled Europe widely from his prison, conducting an authoritative correspondence. But his austerities wore him out, and the Normans escorted him to Rome after a period of nine months. He prepared for his immediate death with a detail both weird and sublime. His coffin was placed in St. Peter's by the side of his couch, while the choir of the church was hung in black and lighted by a thousand funeral tapers. An impressive death-scene followed. He gave fervent injunctions to his attendants, and exhorted the clergy against the greatest to him of sins, simony. In the final moment the vicissitudes of his career were uppermost in mind, as he said, "The cell which was my dwelling as a monk expanded into the spacious palace of the Lateran; now it shrinks again to this narrow coffin." In the presence of a great congregation of awed and reverent worshipers, at daybreak before the altar of St. Peter's, Leo IX passed away. His purity and gentleness of personal life were ample warrant of his admittance to the calendar of saints, while his official career had demonstrated clearly that the Papacy could not be a mere appanage of the Empire. Henry III had performed a real service in rescuing the Church from local hands, but the revival of its universal character by Leo IX fixed its authority above the confines of any one nation.

The height of the influence attained by Hildebrand under this German Primacy was evidenced by the mention of him as a successor. Benizo, a partisan biographer, claims that he resisted the high office only by tears and supplications.

Now the practical politics of Hildebrand had its first conspicuous application. He knew that the Church was not sufficiently strong in Italy. There was a great latent force possible of development in time; but the support of Germany yet remained indispensable to the political existence of the Roman institution. This was not the season to make a contest for the freedom of Papal elections, nor had the evils among the clergy been appreciably abated. Accordingly, the humble sub-deacon was the head of an embassy sent to Henry III to ask the nomination of a Northern prelate. The negotiations were protracted almost a year, but the shrewdness of Hildebrand prevailed when he secured the Churchman of the royal family who had been the closest imperial adviser. Gebhart, Bishop of Eichstadt, in Bavaria, had opposed the plans of Leo IX, and worked against the hierarchical aggrandizement. The emperor was most loath to lose his counselor, but Hildebrand was insistent. A change of attitude must come with the assumption of power, when the Church rose superior to country, and the priest predominated over the individual. Gebhart accordingly was consecrated at Rome as Victor II, in 1055. The emperor soon joined him, for a

great peril confronted Germany in the affairs of Tuscany. Godfrey, once Duke of Lorraine, the exile, had married Beatrice, the widow of Boniface of Tuscany, the wealthiest and mightiest noble of Italy. His brother, Frederick of Lorraine, had been made a cardinal by Leo IX in defiance of German opposition, and was sent on an embassy to Constantinople. The emperor, with a strong army, hunted down once more his former antagonist, drove Godfrey from Italy, Frederick into a retreat, and carried Beatrice, with her young daughter Matilda, the famous countess to be, to the North as hostages. These masterful, brilliant women were never to forgive the imperial power for this insult, and they will contribute infinitely to its future humiliation. When insurrection at home made the presence of Henry III imperative there, no counsel was so valued as that of Victor II in person, but in the midst of civil conflict the great ruler died. Victor II was left as the adviser of his son, Henry IV, aged six, and took the double function of emperor and Pope. His policy was one of conciliation. Godfrey was permitted to return to Tuscany and his wife. Frederick of Lorraine was guided into the abbacy of Monte Cassino, the richest and most illustrious of the Italian monasteries. In the Council the Pope took a firm stand against simony, and prohibited the holding of Church lands as fiefs by the lay nobility. Hildebrand, continued in the office of sub-deacon, appeared at times as the Papal ad-

viser. However, Victor II may not have forgiven him for his pertinacity in urging him to the Holy See. Then, while political matters were uppermost in the Empire, Hildebrand was dispatched to France for the strenuous task of reforming its clergy. His success partook of the supernatural; for so searching was the nature of his investigations that the French believed that he could read the secrets of their hearts and see the hidden presence of the tempter.

Forty-five bishops and twenty-seven other dignitaries were said to have been constrained to accuse themselves and resign their benefices. Victor II was planning to hold a National Council at Rheims when, in less than a year after his imperial master, he died at Florence. This German Pontiff likewise had felt the effect of the traditions of his office. He began to assume an independent, loftier tone, and spoke of the throne of Peter raised high above all people and realms. Damiani had written to Victor II, when he became tutor of Henry IV, and, impersonating Christ, said: "I have constituted thee Father of the emperor; I have given into thy hands the keys of my Universal Church; and, if this be too little, thou mayst add Monarchy to it, so that, kings being removed, I promise thee the rights of the whole vacant Empire." Such teaching in the Church bore fruit in practice. Already it was true that no Pope could be a Ghibelline.

CHAPTER V.

THE CORNER-STONE OF PAPAL FREEDOM.

HILDEBRAND was placed in nomination for the vacant Apostolic See. He, yet a sub-deacon, was named along with four others, and they bishops, by Frederick, Abbot of Monte Cassino. But this popular and powerful Churchman was simply delaying the honor that the clergy and nobles of Rome had designed for him. The house of Lorraine, with Godfrey as the master of Tuscany and with Frederick possessing an ecclesiastical ambition as lofty as his patrician ancestry, presented a new rallying ground in Italy, a political buffer to the enlarged influence of Germany. Hildebrand was absent in Florence with the dead Victor II; but his friends at the place of decision knew his wishes. Frederick was opportunely in Rome, not yet having entered formally upon his duties at the monastery. After a day and a night of deliberation, the Lorrainer was taken, willing or unwilling, to St. Peter's by the multitude, and consecrated, under the name of Stephen IX, to the office made vacant forty days previous. The temper of the new Pope had been

clearly indicated on the occasion of a mission to Constantinople. By his expression then as the legate of Leo IX, he was known to have the most absolute view of the Roman supremacy. He had been violent and intolerant in his condemnation of the creed and the ritual of the Eastern Church. He was a rigid monk, yet at the same time he had the aims of a secular prince, and was ready to advance the interests of his brother, even possibly to make him emperor. The two men who were called to the intimate support of his Pontificate were Peter Damiani and Hildebrand.

Damiani, next to Hildebrand, was the greatest reformer of the age. From a swineherd he passed to be a monk of St. Benedict, and grew strongly versed in all Christian and classic literature. His zeal was even more intense than his learning. He was in Italy the quintessence of the Cluniac ideas, and plied a cutting lash upon every wickedness of the day. He was Abbot of Fonte Avellana in Umbria, his foster convent, and Stephen made him a cardinal and Bishop of Ostia. His monastic reform was more sweeping than the liberal rule of Benedict. He increased the use of penance, and, by his insistence upon scourging, he may be considered the father of the Flagellants. Damiani was a keen observer of every form of Church activity, quick and positive in his judgments, writing voluminously and pungently. Associated with Hildebrand as his comrade, the campaign of reform which

would have ensued must have been relentless and widespread. But first Hildebrand had to be sent to Germany to see the Empress Agnes, to explain the hasty election of the Pontiff and secure the imperial approval. The widow of Henry III held a difficult position in the midst of the feudal princes of her land. She had a mother's jealousy for her young son, and distrusted all who might gain an ascendancy over him. Her confidence was given to the spiritual advisers only, and to the Church. So that, notwithstanding the anger aroused at the court by the Roman election, the skillful ambassador was able to satisfy the empress of its necessity. Likewise the negotiations developed into a personal influence by the great monk, in the name of the Church, which should later lead Agnes to desert her own country for a retreat in the South. In the meantime Stephen IX was not permitted to make any progress in his ambitious career. He had entertained a fixed purpose against simony, which was now attacked by his former associate, Humbert, Bishop of St. Rufina. This cardinal-bishop wrote a treatise against the prevalent evil, in which he suggested a remedy that is a startling forecast of the mighty issue Hildebrand was to raise. Humbert asserted that investiture in Church offices by the laity was the chief source of the clerical sin, and the imperial power was to blame.

Stephen IX also had occasion to intervene in the disturbances at Milan over the marriage of its

clergy. This city of Lombardy was most tenacious of its traditions. It worshiped its St. Ambrose of the fourth century as of equal reverence with St. Peter. From him its priests claimed the right of marriage, and their greatest archbishop of the eleventh century, Aribo, lived in open wedlock. But Ariald, a member of the populace, led a crusade against the practice and was the head of the "Pataria" or "party of the ragamuffins," derisively named, which, however, had the support of the monks. When he had caused a riot by his harangues and violence against the married and aristocratic clergy, a legation was sent from Rome, composed of Hildebrand, Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, later to be a Pope, and this rioter Ariald. But the three, all of the same mind, were unable to restore peace in Milan. The aggressive faction of the Pataria was no mean factor to be counted for Hildebrand in his future reform.

A visit paid by the Pope to Florence, as in the case of his predecessor, proved fatal, it being only the eighth month of his Primacy. There were the customary rumors of poison. The story was told that Stephen had given orders to the clergy and nobles, in case of his end, to nominate no successor, under penalty of anathema, until Hildebrand returned from Germany. But no longer could the customary separation into factions be postponed. When Stephen was chosen, the local Roman party, the Tuscan support, and the Papal reforming clergy,

the associates of Hildebrand, had all been favorable to him.

Now the counts of Tusculum and the descendants of the once powerful Crescentius regained the ascendancy in the city, and placed in the Pontiff's office John Mincius, Bishop of Velletri, one of those suggested as a candidate by the late Pope before his elevation. Personally the bishop was a worthy man, but in the higher position he would be powerless in the hands of a turbulent laity. Peter Damiani, as Metropolitan Bishop, refused to consecrate him, and another was forced to perform the ceremony, at which the name of Benedict X was assumed. The majority of the ecclesiastics fled the city. The treasures of the Church were turned over to the new masters, and the conditions existing before the era of the German Popes had returned. The news of the seizure of power by the Roman party came to Germany, whither Hildebrand had gone on one of his frequent missions. Again his political strategy gave him the place of dictator of the issue. From the empress he received the right to hold a new election, and he assembled his friends and the anti-Roman forces at Florence, where they chose Gerard, its archbishop, who became Nicholas II. This selection was particularly acceptable to Marquis Godfrey, whose troops conducted him to Rome. A halt was made at Sutri, and once again a Pope was declared excommunicated and deposed, though absent from his trial, the Vicar of the Em-

pire in Italy, the ruler of Tuscany, and Hildebrand pronouncing the sentence. The Roman populace turned to civil conflict before the troops of Godfrey reached the city walls. One faction opened the gates, the gold of Hildebrand being charged as an agency, and, upon the successful assault of the Lateran, the nobles retired with their booty. Benedict X fled, only to be captured later, and condemned with bitter accusations to an imprisonment which lasted twenty years. Hildebrand was plainly the master of the situation, while Godfrey and Beatrice furnished the secular support which Germany had given in recent times. In the nation north of the Alps, a regency that would continue several years gave an opportune chance for changing political alliances, and the physical force and resources seemed now immediately at hand in Italy, which would establish the hierarchy at Rome on a secure basis. Nicholas II was a native of Burgundy and had been educated with the late Pope Stephen. His official period, though brief like that of his predecessor, bore results of largest value. His era brought the most signal advance in the hierarchy of Rome since the early centuries. Three months after his ordination there was held on April 13, 1059, the revolutionary Lateran Council, meeting in the Church of St. John Lateran.

The gathering was large, one hundred and thirteen bishops being present, though three-fourths of them were Italian and none German. An eccle-

siastical constitution was drafted then, which has endured to the present day. As a piece of constructive legislation it antedates the noted civil documents of England and the Continent. The authorship has been freely assigned to Hildebrand, who was without doubt the chief counselor of Nicholas II. The creation of the College of Cardinals was achieved by reason of the disasters of the past and the necessities of the future. When this method of the election of the head of the Church was definitely prescribed in a written constitution, the corner-stone of Papal freedom had been laid. Popular assemblies at Rome, as derived from the simple religious meetings of the early Christians, had long since proved to be a recreant and even a vicious agency for the selection of the Pontiff. With the interference of barons and the intrigues of unscrupulous clergy, the body was very frequently similar to a modern packed political convention. The decree of the Lateran Synod was, that after the death of a Pope the cardinal-bishops should first meet and name a successor; then the cardinal clergy of lower rank should be summoned to vote on the nominee. A new significance was given to the function of cardinal by this legislation. Hitherto the name was a title, prefixed to the order to which the person belonged, as cardinal bishop, cardinal presbyter, or cardinal deacon, and meant that these principal clergy had been called to an advisory relation to the Roman diocese. The car-

dinals had not been an organized body of any definite number before 1059, but when they were resolved into an electoral college, an authority and rank were given lower only than the Primacy itself. The roster of ecclesiastics in Rome at this period included seven cardinal bishops, those of Ostia, Porto, St. Rufina, Albano, Sabina, Tusculum, and Palæstrina. There were twenty-eight cardinal presbyters, assigned seven each to the Churches of St. Peter's, Maria Maggiore, St. Paul, and St. Lawrence, outside the walls. Provision was also made for referring the choice made by the cardinals to the people, and this practice was observed as a matter of form for many years. The plan for the participation of the emperor was vague. His relation to Rome was not entirely forgotten; but the right to confirm the nomination of the college appeared more like a personal privilege, and was to be given as a return for the Pope's service on crowning the monarch of the Holy Roman Empire. The possibilities of mob-rule even yet in the Capital City were recognized, just as France has experienced to its sorrow in later centuries, and there was a provision that the election could be held outside of Rome and by a majority of the cardinals.

The decree was signed first by Hildebrand under the simple title of monk, which seems a foil to the prominent share he had in the draft. The names of seventy-six bishops follow, and those of many priests and deacons. When the decree was

sent to Germany, the cardinal who bore it was denied an audience, and the Empire refused to acknowledge its validity.

The College of Cardinals became, says the historian Mignet, the senate of the new Rome. It was a seeming change from a democracy to a close corporation. Yet the principle of popular election had been so grossly abused, and was so entangled with local conditions, that nothing but a radical remedy, even a departure from the spirit of the institution, promised to be a permanent correction. The adherents of the Papacy defend this severe restriction of the suffrage on the ground that the authority became lodged in an aristocracy of merit, and not of birth, to which the humblest could and did attain. It was expressly declared in the statute that the election was not to be confined to Churchmen of the city of Rome. The new order could not be invariably observed from the start. It was all-important that a rule and standard had been prescribed. In the history of nations, lapses frequently occur from the defined method of government. The Magna Charta was not always obeyed in England, yet it has been ever the national guide.

A century passed before the Papal electoral process was entirely accepted, but the maintenance of the principle gave an immediate strength to the hierarchy. Any one chosen in another fashion was uncanonical and became anti-Pope, an argument which the reform clergy urged relentlessly against

all its rivals. There was the possibility of the college itself, as a small body, being controlled by designing interests; but in such event the reform to be effected was individual rather than that of a method. This same Lateran Council condemned the heresy of Berenger, whose practice was to renounce his opposition to the doctrine of transubstantiation when he was brought to trial, then straightway resume his antagonism to it.

Regulations were also made for the more strict control of the canons of the Churches in their vows and living. Decrees were passed against the chronic evils, simony and the marriage of the clergy. The Lombard priests would not publish these ordinances in their parishes, for the Milanese had excommunicated the advocates of celibacy. Accordingly, Nicholas II sent an uncompromising commission, consisting of Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, and Peter Damiani, to bring the city into harmony with the oft declared principles of the general Church. Anselm had been the resolute opponent, outside of Milan, of clerical marriage. His first Papal mission to suppress it was a failure; but now, associated with Peter Damiani, the visit met with a show of success. The fierce monk from Rome was not daunted by the threats of the populace, though he was in real peril of his life. He asserted with vehemence and power the authority and Primacy of St. Peter over St. Ambrose. The archbishop was so impressed that he took a stand against simony and

concubinage. Penance was to be visited upon the guilty. But the resentment aroused in the masses on account of the ecclesiastical superiority asserted by Rome repressed their zeal for reform. Milan remained then unaffected, alert to resent any change from its established practices, a center of irreconcilable hostility to the advancing reform party in the Church. There was a consistent effort under Nicholas to enforce throughout Europe the corrective principles. France gave a nominal adherence to the program, but its king at the same time insisted upon the headship of the Gallican Church. In England the commands of the Pope were received with reverence; but the German clergy broke entirely with Rome, and in a Synod declared Nicholas deposed, ordering his name to be omitted from the public prayers. Conditions were shaping towards a crisis which boded ruin to the new spirit in the Papacy, when Nicholas II perfected an alliance that made secure the epoch which had been entered, and yielded vital consequences to the career of Hildebrand. An agreement of mutual interest, something like that of Charlemagne and Leo III, was entered into by the Pope and the Normans. They had been left under the anathema of Leo IX, whom they had captured in war and returned for a ransom. Their fortunes now were directed by a new leader, Robert Guiscard, or "Slyboots," from whom the kings of Sicily sprang. The Normans had wrested from the Greeks, the Lombards, and

the Saracens increasing portions of South Italy, and they wished their possessions to have an additional element of legitimacy. The Church, whether by applying a broadcast interpretation of the Donation of Constantine as to Italian soil, or through some other unexplained claim of suzerainty, was ready for such an occasion. Nicholas was invited to Melfi in Apulia, where with the feudal ceremony he invested Robert and his associates with their lands. They took oath that in confirmation of the gift of the lands, and in recognition of the obligation of fidelity, they would pay annual tribute to Rome. They also covenanted to aid with all their might the Holy Roman Church to hold the possessions of St. Peter, and to preserve the Papal office and the government. They also pledged themselves to support the new method of the election of Popes by the College of Cardinals. The Church in this proceeding borrowed directly from the political society of the age. It was its first large application of feudal control over civil rulers; but claims for such an allegiance became frequently advanced by Hildebrand and his successors. There was also an ecclesiastical purpose served in the visit of Nicholas. The Churches of the Normans were placed under the authority of Rome, and a Synod met to launch the orders against the concubinage of the priests.

In view of the uncertainty of Tuscan diplomacy and of the resentment of the former German masters, a mighty bulwark had been found for the

hierarchy in the South. An immediate test was made of its efficacy. The actual civil power of the Pope about the city was most feeble. The barons, who had championed the deposed Benedict X, made it their business to plunder the pilgrims en route to St. Peter's and hold them for ransom. Distinguished Churchmen from England and elsewhere were seized. Against such rapine the Normans were appropriately employed. Set a robber to catch a robber. They wasted their lands, and destroyed the castles of some of the worst brigands. It is a noteworthy fact that these counts of the Roman party became forthwith the zealous advocates of the interests of Germany. But acts of violence did not cease. The city itself was largely occupied by the fortifications of the petty nobles, who lived defiant of restraint. The populace was turbulent and knew no allegiance except to the highest bidder. Amid such elements, the religious organization held its course and planned for a dawn of better things. Hildebrand had become archdeacon of the Roman Church. His hand was seen in the compact with the Normans, and, in all relations of Rome with bishops and kings, his counsels were the guide. An illustration may be cited in the letter which was sent in the name of Nicholas to the Archbishop of Rheims.

He was told, "The Apostolic See expects you to reprove and entreat Henry, King of France, so that he be not corrupted by the counsels of the

wicked, who think, under favor of our discords, to elude the censure apostolic; and let him beware of resisting the sacred canons, or rather St. Peter, and of thus stirring us up against him, who desire to love him as the apple of our eye." The conclusion of the writing was that "Our very dear brethren, the cardinal bishops salute you, and so does, with humility, our son Hildebrand." The spiritual son he was, indeed, of the Pope, yet not ready to enter into the heritage; for after two years of a Pontificate brief, but fraught with weighty consequences, Nicholas closed his life, July 27, 1061, at Florence. Most of the duties of the Primacy at the last had been resigned to Hildebrand, while he busied himself with deeds of charity. Now had arrived the time of testing. Would the new constitution be observed? The agencies in opposition to the projected revolution in government and conduct had increased in number and strength. Could all the hostile forces be combined? Hildebrand faced a struggle whose issue must either crown or crush his future.

CHAPTER VI.

THE POWER BEHIND THE PAPAL SEE.

THE shadow of Germany yet fell athwart Rome. The proximity of Tuscan and of Norman counted for naught, as the memory arose of the sturdy soldiers who time and again came from over the Alps to alter the fortunes of the Church. Some, however, had grown bold enough after the death of Nicholas II to advise to proceed to an election in defiance of the wishes of the representatives of the emperor. But the attitude of the Imperial Court to those who belonged to the Hildebrandine party decided a course of action for the reformers. The legate of the cardinals was refused an audience, and after five successive days of rejection he returned to Rome, where an election was held on October 1, 1061. The prescribed method was followed, the seven Cardinals making the nomination of Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, who took the name of Alexander II. There was a great throng of begging monks in the city, and their advocacy was intense for Anselm, who had been their patron through the years, and was himself a foremost champion of all the monastic ideals. This spectacle

of a new Primate attended by the hosts of mendicants in their sleeveless habits, adorned by the odious gourd and sack, called forth the hostile cries of the populace and of the imperialists. But the additional escort of hundreds of Norman soldiers, under the command of Richard of Capua, gave a constraining hint of the power that sustained the ordination at St. John's Lateran. Back of it all the thorough masterful planning of Hildebrand was unmistakable, and Alexander II at once made him chancellor of the Roman Church.

The new Pope was the strongest prelate who could have been selected, aside from the mighty monk, his manager. The Pataria of Milan had been the supporters of his reforms, and now a division of the Lombard strength became possible. His relations with Germany had ever been friendly, and in character he was upright and sincere. The action of the cardinals was interpreted as a formal challenge to the Empire. The Roman nobles, changed to be the anti-national party, invited Henry to send to Rome and assume the office of Patricius, which had been given to his father, Henry III. A portion of the city clergy, led by Hugh the White, joined, through jealousy of Hildebrand, the hostile barons. The clergy of Milan under the direction of Guibert, the chancellor of the Empire in Italy, held a Synod, and memorialized the empress that a Pope be chosen from their diocese, and one who would be mercifully inclined to the married brethren.

Agnes proceeded slowly, and finally called a Diet at Basle for October 28th, which she and her son of twelve attended. Henry IV was declared Patricius of Rome, and the German and Lombard prelates chose for their Pontiff Cadalus, Bishop of Parma, known as Honorius II. Cadalus was a supreme object of aversion to all reformers. Peter Damiani made a characteristic assault upon him, which portrays vividly the prejudice and vituperation of the period. Cadalus was branded a preacher of the devil, an apostle of Antichrist, a root of sin, the sink of all vices, and food for hellfire. It is not probable that he was entirely without character or learning, for he served as a courtier of high repute. He was rich, but not aggressive, and certainly no match in ability for his rival and that keen counselor, the indomitable power behind the Papal See. Germany was tardy in its support of Cadalus, though its threats against the so-called usurpers were loud. It was a time for liveliest energy, but the anti-Pope was left largely to his own resources. Six months passed before he advanced through Italy, his support drawn mainly from the Lombards.

Within this time there had been a certain spurious revival of the civic sense in Rome, and an odd movement executed by Benzo, a bishop of the Piedmont, who appeared as the ambassador of the emperor. He was versed in the Italian nature, and played the part of an ideal religious buffoon and demagogue. By a series of harangues and a lavish

scattering of gold he secured a following of the masses. Benzo called next a parliament in the renowned Circus Maximus, even then a place of crumbling arches, prostrate obelisks, confused débris, and weeds. But the multitude gathered in its circle of rising seats was made to fancy itself an ancient assembly of the Roman tribes. Alexander II was called to trial, and Benzo, in his invective, charged him with simony, thus counterfeiting the methods of the reformers, and declared that Hildebrand, as the very son of Simon Magus, had been the chief agent in this detestable merchandise. He further denounced the Pope as a traitor to Germany, and ordered in the king's name that he abdicate his office and seek the forgiveness of his sovereign. Alexander had come to the Circus Maximus with an armed retinue, and thus escaped violence. He answered firmly that his election had been received regularly and without taint, and that he was loyal to Henry IV, with whom he would gladly treat. But the Pope, before a packed, excited populace, could not make a very brave showing; and as he rode away, his portion from the mob was jeers and hostile demonstrations. An invitation was extended in the name of the people to Cadalus to come to Rome, so that Benzo left behind him a powerful faction as he went to greet the nominee of the Council of Basle. Guibert, Chancellor of Italy, and a large body of troops formed the retinue of the contesting Pontiff. Alexander believed himself strong enough

for an encounter, even though the Normans had delayed reinforcements at the critical moment. The battle of the two claimants to spiritual suzerainty was joined, on April 14, 1063, north of the city, at Monte Mario, and the result was a defeat for the soldiers of the Hildebrandine party. The vanquished were able to recross the Tiber and intrench themselves behind the city walls, while the victors briefly held the Leonine section, then retired to the open plains.

At this juncture Godfrey of Tuscany appeared in arms as a compulsory arbiter. He chose to be very politic, and would favor neither claimant; but they were summarily turned out of the city, each sent to his respective, original bishopric, one to Lucca, the other to Parma, and told to await there the decision of the emperor as to which should be Pope. Hildebrand, satirized as the Lord of the Lord Pope, all the while was intensely active. His adherents must be held together, and he did not refrain from the use of money, which was furnished by a generous convert. He was busy trying to form alliances, and kept in close touch with the progress of events in Germany. On the issue of the controversies there hinged the settlement of the tangled Cisalpine affairs. The powerful feudatories did not approve of the regency of the empress, and the Church dignitaries had quarreled over the control of the prince. Henry, Bishop of Augsburg, held Henry IV as his ward, and was believed also to

exercise undue influence over the mother Agnes. The boy was alleged to be growing up too much of a woman. Accordingly a conspiracy of Anno, Archbishop of Cologne, Siegfried, Archbishop of Mainz, and certain leading barons, resulted in the abduction of the youth. The nation at large was induced to acquiesce in the change of guardians, however much the empress was distressed at the violence and the character of the administration.

Anno brought a reversal in the position of the Empire to the Papacy, for a Council was called at Augsburg, whose deliberations caused a practical abandonment of the cause of Cadalus. The chancellorship of Italy was taken from Guibert, his chief abbot, and given to a reform bishop, Gregory of Vercelli. Alexander was then escorted with a show of authority back to Rome by Godfrey. There was, however, this formidable limitation: the Leonine section was held by the friends of the deposed rival. The barons were his partisans, for they hated the Norman troops who guarded the Pontiff at the Lateran Palace. Cencius, a son of the Prefect of the city, was a constant disturber of the peace. The Lombard clergy continued firm in its allegiance to Cadalus. But at this time an eminent recruit joined the Hildebrandine party. The empress, out of power in Germany and separated from her son, assumed the vows of the religious order. She came to Rome to the Convent of St. Petronilla in great humility, with veil and sackcloth and

psalter, and meanly attended. Twelve years earlier, escorted by a brilliant retinue, with her valiant husband, Henry III, Agnes had been crowned at St. Peter's. Her wealth, along with her influence, was now given to Alexander, and she became thenceforth the associate of the Church in its contest with imperialism.

The mastery in Germany next underwent another shift, and the fortunes of Rome were at once affected, just as in the eighteenth century the affairs of the American Colonies reflected promptly all the shades of differences arising between England and France. Anno of Cologne was unable to retain his control over Henry IV, who, with the assistance of the ever-jealous prelates, called Adelbert, Archbishop of Bremen, to be his counselor. He was a man of splendid talents, but fond of display and ambitious of power and wealth. Under his guardianship the prince was left largely to his own devices, and was denied the discipline and preparation that would have equipped him for his future duties. The hostile biographers of Henry IV allege that Adelbert deliberately ruined his ward. The German archbishop encouraged Cadalus to reassert his claim upon the See at Rome. In April, 1063, he again appeared with his troops, and effected a union with Cencius, the castle of St. Angelo becoming the basis of operations. Civil war ensued for more than a year, neither rival gaining a notable advantage over the other. The facilities for in-

trenchment were abundant ; a multitude of massive, fortified palaces became easily available, while every bridge bristled with towers. The money of Cadalus insured a vigorous support. The Norman troops kept Alexander safely in the Lateran. Each hurled at the other all the varieties of Papal anathema ; but the schism once more moved to a termination as there came an upheaval again in the ecclesiastical politics of Germany. A widespread, irresistible conspiracy of nobles and Churchmen, a combination so frequently effected in this loosely knit nation, brought the complete downfall of Adelbert, and Anno returned to power. A Council met at Mantua for an investigation of the rights of the claimants. Previous to this Assembly, Anno visited Rome, where he entered into a controversy with Hildebrand. The German chided Alexander for daring to assume the powers of the Papacy without having received the consent of the Northern ruler, saying that this was an absolute condition to the office. Hildebrand replied with firmness, denying this right to have been exercised by the emperors without restrictions or limit of time. He offered proof that once there existed freedom of Papal elections, and asserted, further, that under the circumstances the choice by the College of Cardinals of his master was justified. Yet the Roman chancellor was not strenuous in protesting against the obligation to the emperor, rightly knowing the understanding about to be reached. Two years previous, in the Council at

Augsburg, Peter Damiani had argued for the Papal cause, that during the infancy of Henry IV the right of the emperor to confirm an election was suspended. He said that the Church, occupying the place of a Mother, was the guardian of his spiritual affairs, and thus received the right to choose the Pope. Whatever the merits of the debates, when the session was held at Mantua on May 31, 1064, Alexander was present to defend himself against the formal charge of simony. He was acquitted, and officially acknowledged as the true Pope by the imperial authority. Even this did not put an end to the pretensions of Cadalus. He held out in St. Angelo, on the Tiber, for many months, until, hard pressed, he bought for a large sum of silver the chance to escape to Lombardy, where he died, yet styling himself the Pope Honorius II. The conclusion of the schism was a decided victory for Hildebrand. The fact that his candidate, after six years of struggle, was accepted as the head of the Church gave him an enlarged prestige. He was praised by the writers of the day, and compared in his services to Rome with Marius and Cæsar. The Archbishop of Salerno asked, in an ode, what more Rome owed to the Scipios and other statesmen than it did to Hildebrand. He was intrepid and imperious. Nothing in his remarkable career was more characteristic than his relations with Peter Damiani. This impetuous hermit, who had been drawn from his retreat to a city bishopric and

was foremost in every fray for the Church, finally refused high office, and returned to the life of the monastery. He did not agree with all the plans of Hildebrand, yet he was dominated by the chancellor as though he were a mere child. He spoke of Hildebrand as his flattering tyrant, who had soothed him with the pity of a Nero, and had patted him with eagle's claw. On one occasion, when he had been charged with failure to execute orders, Damiani protested his faithfulness, saying that if he deserved death he would lay down his head. He wrote in conclusion: "Strike; but, at the same time, I entreat the holy demon who torments me not to be quite so cruel towards me. Let his venerable arrogance chasten me, not from a distance, but be more gentle towards his slave."

Hildebrand was likewise the director of the enlarged activity that came to the Papacy. Once more Rome figured as the capital of the world, and ambassadors from all parts of Europe, crowded the chambers of the Lateran. Legates went without hindrance to France to decide ecclesiastical disputes. Cardinal Hugh the White, having deserted Cadalus, was the trusted agent of the Church in Spain. The Eastern emperor sent as gifts two brazen gates of rare beauty. These were placed in the Church of St. Paul, and one of them was given the name Hildebrand, the other that of the consul for the year. The chief civil officer in Rome, however, was the Prefect, sometimes named by Germany; at this

period, the choice of the people. When the barons were quiescent, a semblance of order prevailed through the city, and the Church for a season escaped the incongruous situation of dominion abroad and pitiful impotence at home. The recognition of Alexander as Primate gave the reformed party a strong impetus. It seemed that the principles for which it had stood were now to be established. The independence of the Church from the State was somewhat nearer an assured fact. A substantial reinforcement had been afforded to the movement for the correction of clerical abuses. The issue was defined with bold clearness. The claims of Cadalus were defended by the lax prelates, so the imperial cause by natural association came to be regarded as that of the anti-reform party. The result was a firmer union of all reformers who were committed to the triumph of principles rather than to the success of an individual.

In 1063, a Synod of Alexander II had enacted the customary decrees against simony and marriage. All of the Papal letters urged rigid adherence to the reformed standards. In Florence the reform spirit took the direction of an attack upon the archbishop as a simoniac. The monks of Vallombrosa were the persistent accusers. The Pope would not allow them to take any definite action, but Hildebrand is believed to have encouraged the remonstrance of the regular clergy. Finally the monks raised an

appeal direct to God, as the discernor of all hearts, and demanded the ordeal by fire to decide whether their declaration of the guilt of the archbishop was true. The populace then joined the cry, and the authorities had to consent that the test be made. No device that would awe the witnessing multitude was neglected. The very conditions of the trial emphasized the superstitious belief of the age; for the provision was that the bishop should not be considered guilty unless the champion of the monks passed through the mounting flames unharmed. The outcome of the ordeal can be readily surmised. The smell of fire was not found upon the garments of him who henceforth was named Petrus Igneus. Against such a judgment of heaven the mild and rather exemplary bishop dare not stand, but withdrew from the city. A few centuries later, in Florence, a similar clamor of the populace for the ordeal by fire gave a chance to the enemies of the saintly Savonarola to turn the occasion into a signal for the overthrow of the famous reformer. The wave of correction spread from Italy even to a few of the high places in Germany. The Archbishops Anno and Siegfried were summoned to Rome to answer for their irregularities. Their ready acceptance of the Papal right to bring them to judgment, along with the certainty of their guilt of simony, led Alexander to pronounce forgiveness, and dismiss them with the adjuration to sin no more. The complaints which continued to be lodged against

Siegfried indicated that his repentance, at least, was very brief.

The emperor likewise felt the weight of the new authority at Rome, when he ventured to secure a divorce from Bertha of Susa. His marriage with the family of Savoy had been arranged by his father, and only at the urgent solicitation of his advisers did the union take place. Henry formed a violent aversion to his wife, and after two years of wedlock declared his purpose to obtain a separation. His nobles did not dare to speak in opposition, but at the Council called in Mainz to take the necessary steps, the redoubtable Peter Damiani appeared as the apostolic legate. His condemnation of the proposed divorce was unsparing, and the emperor was warned that if he did not abandon his plan the powers of the canon law would be turned against him. Under such leadership the real sentiment of the court risked expression, and Henry had to recognize the dominion of the Church. Later the true womanliness of Bertha, and her fidelity to her liege lord under all conditions of fortune, won a measure of appreciation from her husband. On the other hand, the relations of Henry with his subjects grew more and more strained. Otto of Nordheim, Duke of Bavaria, broke into open revolt, but was vanquished. The emperor distrusted Rudolf, Duke of Suabia, and goaded him to hostility. Territory in Saxony was seized and powerfully garrisoned. The seeds of discontent

and resentment were scattered broadcast, and the young ruler found his government growing weak and unstable, while the structure of the Roman hierarchy continued to rise in power and majesty. The rehabilitation of the Papacy and its influence over the affairs of England was equally important.

Another Norman Duke looked to Rome for a sanction of his conquests. This was William, who ruled along the Seine in Northern France. However shadowy were his claims upon the succession across the channel, when once the Pope had confirmed it, his title took a validity that condoned all rapine and bloodshed. Hildebrand, led by his usual Churchly statecraft, was the spokesman for William, and gained by his arguments the support of the cardinals for the invasion. The insular Church under the Saxons had been slow to respond to the directions of the Holy See, while Norman supremacy would bring a close union with the Continent. The consecrated banner sent by Alexander bore speedy fruits in the victory at Hastings, which was followed by a general revival of church-building and a vigorous ecclesiastical reorganization. Lanfranc, as Archbishop of Canterbury, sent to the Pope for the pallium, but was constrained to come to Rome to receive it. Many honors were shown him, for Lanfranc was an influential advocate of the most extensive powers of the Papacy. Oppor-tune adjustments now occurred in the Italian situation. Duke Godfrey had equaled in authority the

emperor himself. Though the agent of Germany, through the influence of his wife Beatrice, he was not unfriendly to the Church. But his policy had been cautious and frequently neutral. At Christmas, 1069, he died, and his widow survived him six years.

The foremost figure of the day and the mightiest woman of many centuries, Matilda, the great countess, the daughter of Beatrice, became henceforth the invaluable ally of the Hildebrandine cause. She had married a son of her stepfather Godfrey, known as Godfrey the Hunchback. It was a political match, and proved uncongenial. Godfrey the younger was a devoted supporter of Henry IV, and in a few years turned his back upon his wife and Italy for Germany. She had received the most liberal culture, and possessed a rich diversity of talents. She was as capable in administration as she was profound in learning, and devoted to the Church. Her personality expresses itself in the way she was wont to inscribe her name, "Matilda, by the Grace of God what I am." Her spirit was ardent, and her sympathies intense, so that the incomparable genius of Hildebrand might well throw its most potent spell over such a nature and intelligence as Matilda's. The character and purpose of the monk of Cluny commanded such an allegiance as only a similar lofty and imperious spirit could recognize and render. A personal friendship, pure and complete, entirely without

parallel, existed between the champion of the Church and its consistent communicant. However large was the measure of individual and moral support which the great countess gave the reform party, the material resources which she had placed at the control of the Pontiff were the absolute essentials for winning the spiritual supremacy.

The counsels of Peter Damiani ceased in 1072, after he had made his last public appearance with the Pope and Hildebrand at the dedication of the splendid basilica at Monte Cassino. To this gathering came the Norman counts of the South and many prelates of Italy. It was a significant demonstration of the strength which Rome had attained, and a pledge of the independence with which its new career would be pursued. For the intervention of Germany had taught the Papacy to stand alone.

After a Pontificate of twelve years, on April 31, 1073, Alexander passed away. A survey of his career gives the impression that he had been better served than serving. He was so largely overshadowed by the powerful Hildebrand that he seems to lack personality and force. His disposition was mild, but his courage was steady, for he had ever been a consistent advocate of the reform ideas of his age. Twenty-five years of waiting and training had fallen to the lot of the mightiest man of the Church. Was the monk now ready and equipped to surrender the place of counselor and assume the momentous responsibilities of the Apostolic See?

CHAPTER VII.

THE PLAN OF THE MASTER-BUILDER.

UPON the occasion of the death of a Pope, the populace of Rome had a practice of sacking the Papal palace and of rioting about the city. Hildebrand now saw in grateful surprise, as a token of the new authority won by the Church, that the citizens were peaceful and orderly. As chancellor and archdeacon, it was his duty to appoint three days of fasting and prayer, after which the College of Cardinals would conduct its election. What Churchman must receive the lofty honor needed scarcely to be asked, yet it came as an astounding climax that the narrowly prescribed method of choice was to be violated in behalf of the very reformer who had created it.

The funeral services of Alexander II were being conducted on the day after his death with stately pomp in the Church of St. John Lateran, by Hildebrand, when suddenly the ceremonies were interrupted by a multitude of the lesser clergy and the people, who came thronging into the sanctuary, and began to shout the name of Hildebrand. The cries increased, "Let Hildebrand be bishop." "The

Blessed Peter wills the Archdeacon Hildebrand to be Pope." In vain did the one so tumultuously proclaimed endeavor to quell the clamor of his admirers. It appeared that the voice of the people was truly to be the voice of God. When Hildebrand tried to mount one of the pulpits to enforce his exhortation, he was put aside by the cardinal presbyter, Hugh the White, who became, in the mind of the Assembly, the interpreter of the will of the cardinals. "Brethren," he said, "ye know, and as it appears, acknowledge, how, since the days of Leo IX, Hildebrand hath proven himself a man of discretion and probity; how he hath exalted the dignity of our Roman Church, and rescued our city from most imminent dangers. As it is impossible to find a better man, or, indeed, his equal, to intrust with the future defense of our Church and State, we therefore, the cardinal bishops, do, with one voice, elect Hildebrand to be your spiritual pastor and our own." Then, according to the personal record left by the Pope-elect, the mob rushed upon him in a kind of frenzy, and bore him to the Church of S. Pietro in Vinculo. Here they placed upon him the Papal robe of scarlet, and put upon his head the miter of two golden circlets, the crown royal bestowed by God, and the crown imperial, given by the hand of Peter. Lastly they led him to the apostolic throne, "unwilling and sad," as one narrative reads. The decree of election from the cardinals was in readiness, and was pronounced before the

enthusiastic and applauding public. Its eulogy bore handsome tribute to the career then being crowned. The document declared that "We choose for our pastor and Pontiff a devout man; one mighty in human and divine knowledge; a distinguished lover of equity and justice; a man firm in adversity and temperate in prosperity; a man, according to the saying of the apostle, of good behavior, blameless, modest, sober, chaste, given to hospitality, and one that ruleth well his own house; a man from his childhood brought up in the bosom of this Mother Church, and for the merit of his life already raised to the archidiaconal dignity. We choose, namely, our Archdeacon Hildebrand to be Pope and successor to the Apostle, and to bear henceforth and forever the name of Gregory." Then the shout of the multitude echoed as a benediction, "St. Peter has chosen our Lord Gregory Pope."

In such fashion again the ancient custom of popular election asserted itself, with a conventional sanction to be given by the higher authorities. It is fruitless to inquire whether the whole affair was not a deliberate plan to which Hildebrand was a party, or rather a spontaneous outburst of all interests which turned irresistibly to him for guidance. He was the logical man of the hour. His title to genuine greatness rests on the fact that he had been the most potent agent in bringing to pass the situation then prevailing in Church affairs. He alone could prosecute the issue and be the master

of the future. His temper of mind at this time is most interesting to study. There was a real shrinking from the duties he must discharge. "Sad and unwilling" was possibly the condition of the flesh, but certainly not of the spirit of this dauntless leader. He passed some days in retirement, from which he told his intimate friends the feelings of his inmost soul. To Desiderius, the Abbot of Monte Cassino, he wrote in the phrase of the psalmist: "I am come into deep waters, where the floods overflow me. I am weary of my crying; my throat is dried. Fearfulness and trembling are come upon me, and horror hath overwhelmed me." Guibert of Ravenna, who was unfriendly, was implored, "Let your affection be shown forth, if not for my merits, at least for the love of the Apostles Peter and Paul. Call on the sons of Jesus Christ to entreat God for me that He may give me strength to sustain the burden He has laid upon me in spite of my refusal." He announced his election to the Countesses Beatrice and Matilda, to the King of Denmark, the Archbishop of Rheims, and Hugh, Abbot of Cluny, and besought their support of him in prayers and sympathy.

The chief perils of his day mentioned were the sins and injustice of rulers and the selfishness and apostasy of the clergy. He called to the Archbishop of Canterbury to see how fearful it would be for him to abstain from opposing such persons, and again how difficult to oppose them. In another

epistle he stated his rule of action: "We may not set aside the law of God through respect of persons, nor swerve from the path of right for the sake of human favor. As the Apostle says: 'If I should wish to please men, I should not be the servant of God.'" Notwithstanding, then, the appearance of inability to enter into his high office, no Pontiff ever had at his installation such a clean-cut program and well-defined aims.

The quarter of a century of diplomacy and administration for his superiors had brought Hildebrand a profound knowledge of the temporal affairs of Europe, of the centers of influence at work and the resources available. Gregory VII began his rule as the heir of all the claims of Papal dominion advanced in the centuries past, as the defender of all that was ascetic and uncompromising in the religious practice of his day, and as the champion of a sovereignty that allowed no element of control save the sacerdotal. But first a reckoning must be made with the emperor. A notification of the election was sent him, and the ceremony of consecration deferred until some evidence of the attitude of Henry was secured. The German and Lombard bishops urged him to interpose his objection, for they fearfully and properly anticipated that the severity of the archdeacon against delinquents would be continued in the greater rigor of the Primate. But imperial affairs were not in a position to enter a contest with the Roman Church, and an ambassa-

dor was sent to learn the circumstances of the succession. The inquiry was a mere matter of form, and the chancellor of the Empire for Italy was present officially when Hildebrand was consecrated Pope on June 29, 1073, more than two months after his election.

The relations of Henry and Hildebrand supply the motive to all the triumphs and defeats of this Pontificate. The king had been condemned by Alexander for certain practices, but Gregory VII was not disposed to judge harshly in advance, though his attitude would be uncompromising. To Duke Godfrey he declared that no one was more solicitous than he for the king's temporal and eternal welfare. He intended to counsel with Henry, and would rejoice if he acquiesced in the things touching the Church and himself. But if hatred were returned for love, the Pope said, he would not incur the curse pronounced on him "who keepeth back his sword from blood." To the Countess Beatrice, Hildebrand wrote: "It is our wish to send religious men to the king to recall him to the love of his mother, the Holy Roman Church, and to a becoming mode of governing his Empire. If he refuse to listen to us, it were more safe for us to resist him, if necessary, even to the pouring forth of our blood, for the sake of his salvation, than yielding to his will, to rush to destruction with him." The response of Henry to Rome was amazing in its humility. Hildebrand spoke of it as a letter full of sweetness

and obedience, and such as never had been sent by any emperor to the Church authorities. He confessed his past transgressions and threw himself upon the Papal indulgence. He said the Church of Milan was in error through his fault, and prayed that it be reformed with other Churches. Henry promised that, "by God's grace, we will be wanting to you in nothing, and we solicit in return the exercise of a parental care over us in all things." Again, at Canossa, he will make a similar and even more complete surrender.

At this time, September, 1073, the troubled circumstances of Germany throw some light on the emperor's desire for peace in Italy. Too frequently the deeds of these two pitted champions of the State and the Church were not in harmony with their professions. Each exercised his skill in using words to darken counsel and avoid the real issue of controversy. For the future the alternatives to them were a truce or a conflict. The official duties of Hildebrand had been assumed before the recognition of Henry was tendered. They consisted notably of a series of embassies and communications to the various nations. The keynote of his administration was at once sounded in a radical and bold departure. Leo IX and other Pontiffs had been concerned to recover and hold the lands gained in the alleged donations of Charlemagne and Pepin; but the vision of this imperious successor of St. Peter did not confine itself to Italian territory, but expanded

to the sovereignty of the world. Hildebrand had kept his ambitious desires in restraint and bided his time. Such was the power of the Church over the mediæval mind that the assertion of secular dominion was not received as something untenable. The view of the nature of Christ's kingdom on earth had come to be materialized, just as the Jews in the days of Jesus of Nazareth expected a political incarnation of their religion by a Messiah. Under this confusion, demands could not be made which were spiritually the due of the Church and its precepts without also claiming for it a civil pre-eminence. Specifically, the supreme authority was based on the doctrine that Christ was the Lord of the earth, and the Pope, as His sole vicar, shared His prerogatives. There was much of unrest and change in political affiliations, which contributed to further the aggressive claims of the Papacy.

The first embassy of Hildebrand went to Spain under Hugh the White, who worked to promote the unity of the Church through the adoption of the Roman ritual. But, further, the princes of Spain were told that their land of old belonged to St. Peter, and yet remained the property of the Apostolic See. If they wished to wrest any possessions from the Moors, they must hold them as fiefs of Rome. The payment was a small annual tribute, and some of the lesser rulers found such acknowledgment helpful to the consolidation of their power. Later, similar claims were advanced over Sardinia,

Corsica, Dalmatia, Poland, Scandinavia, and England. In not a few instances, princes sought such a protectorate from motives of self-interest rather than of pious obedience. Pretenders have been described in these pages, and others imitated them, who, in order to make sure their rule, gladly offered their lands in fealty to the Pope. But the demands of Hildebrand were sometimes resisted.


Particularly was the Pope anxious to have the political support of the Normans. Robert Guiscard had largely grown in power, and was loath to renew his allegiance to Rome. Hildebrand visited Southern Italy to meet him, but all appointments were evaded, and the crafty warrior failed to come to terms. The Prince of Capua and the Duke of Benevento, who made the feudal acknowledgment, were accordingly favored and intrigued for to the detriment of the Prince of Apulia. The disaffection of Robert Guiscard led the Pope in his restless energy to originate the plan of the heroic enterprise which engaged all Europe for several succeeding generations. He received in his first year from the Emperor Michael of Constantinople, an appeal to enlist Western Christendom against the advancing Seljuk Turks, with a hint that the Greek and Roman Churches might be eventually united. This call seemed to give an opportunity to rally the enthusiasm of believers for a grand assault upon the East under the command of Rome. The success of military adventure would be made to con-

tribute to the political absolutism of the hierarchy. Hildebrand accordingly dispatched a favorable envoy to the Eastern Empire, and summoned several of the faithful feudal barons to collect troops for a movement against the infidels. In March, 1074, the news came that the Saracens had appeared before the walls of Constantinople. Promptly the Pope issued a formal appeal to all Christians to rise to deliver their brethren in the East from the power of the infidels. He admonished all believers that as the Redeemer of the world had given His life for His servants, each of them should be willing to offer up his own for those of the faith. The crowning significance of such a crusade was the ultimate design of not only rescuing the Greeks, who were under the ban of insubordination to Rome, but also of replacing them under the Papal authority. The response of the rulers came tardily and feebly. Some were reprimanded for entire neglect to obey; others refused to serve in company with their hereditary enemies. The Countess of Tuscany was prevented from furnishing the promised quota of thirty thousand men by an insurrection. The immediate subtle object of this military mustering, which was ordered for South Italy, was to intimidate the threatening Robert Guiscard, who had been excommunicated on account of his invasions. The miscarriage of these plans filled the Pope with humiliation, and threw him into a severe illness. This was accompanied by an intense despondency

of spirit, an experience common to him after periods of exaltation and enthusiasm. He felt that goodness had all but fled from the earth and few were true to their religious responsibilities. He wrote that he "had hoped to escape to that country where repose is prepared for the weary."

But buoyancy and jubilant recovery followed speedily, and in December, 1074, he was more hopeful than before of a mighty crusade. He informed Henry IV that more than fifty thousand men were ready to rise against the enemies of God and march by the guidance of the Lord to His holy sepulcher, if he as Pontiff would put himself at their head. He asked the emperor to give him aid, and commended the chief care of the Church to Germany in his absence. Such was the daring genius of this vicar of the Prince of Peace who would have taken carnal arms for the conquest of men's souls. Yet all of this stir was chimerical. The levies faded away, while only Tuscany was loyal. Europe, as a whole, was indifferent to the project, and the Emperor Michael was deposed at Constantinople. A religious war in the East was impossible, while the independence of the Church in the West was still uncertain. But who shall say how largely the faith and interest of Gregory VII in the Holy Land contributed to the enlisting of the myriad hosts at the close of the century? His spirit-stirring exhortations lived again in the eloquence of Urban II and the zeal of Peter the Hermit. Hildebrand and the Crusader

possessed a common bond in their lofty vision and ascetic temper.



The new administration, chosen solely with reference to reform, did not begin its expected measures until the eleventh month of its first year, in Lent. Three guiding ideas mark the career of Hildebrand: that the Church should be one and Rome its head; that the Church should be free; and that the Church should be pure. Before his Pontificate none of these had been realized, though ecclesiastical freedom was vastly promoted by the method of election adopted in 1059. The means for the purification of the Church and the renewal of the hierarchy were very clear and simple to his mind, but many powerful ones would offer a thousand obstacles to his policy. The worst foes were of his own household. The clergy did not want to be reformed. But Hildebrand had no fear of the outcome. He did not shrink from the contest when once it was begun. His cause, in his belief, was ever that of righteousness. All the efforts of mortals must be futile against the decrees of St. Peter and the power of the Lord God. The summons for the Council at Rome was issued in January, 1074, and the Papal opinion of the critical nature of affairs was indicated in a letter to the Archbishop of Aquileia. It reads: "The princes of this world, seeking only their own interest and not that of Jesus Christ, treat the Church like a vile slave. The priests and visible rulers of the Church evade the law of God and

their obligation to Him and to their flocks. They seek the dignities of the Church solely for the sake of the worldly glory, and they consume in useless expense that which should be devoted to the salvation of the many. The people, whom the teaching of the prelates does not lead into the way of justice, but who are rather taught evil by the example of their leaders, fall into all sorts of crimes. They have the name of Christians, not only without fulfilling a Christian duty, but also without even keeping the faith. Wherefore, trusting in the mercy of God, we have resolved to assemble a Synod to find a remedy for so many evils, so that we may not witness in our day the irreparable ruin and destruction of the Church." The German and Lombard bishops did not attend the Synod, but the Countess Matilda was present and participated. Four decrees were adopted. No one who had been admitted to any rank in the ministry by a payment should be allowed to officiate. No one who had purchased any Church should retain it, and no one in the future should buy or sell ecclesiastical rights. All who lived in the married state should cease to exercise the clerical function. That none of the laity should receive the ministrations of those who destroyed these ordinances. Thus the reformation was inaugurated with a rigor and a thoroughness befitting the spirit of an Elijah. Endless declarations had been made by Councils against simony. The celibacy of all priests was an ideal condition to

be preached about and favored in ecclesiastical resolutions; but the marriage of the secular clergy had grown to be the rule rather than the exception. If Hildebrand now were merely a politician, he would not have incited the furious enmity of thousands by an attack upon their marital relations. Instead, he was set on effecting that in which the Council of Nicæa itself had failed. A separation was to ensue such as the world had not seen since the command of Ezra went forth in Judea.

A new method was called into play by the Synod of 1074 in the place assigned to the laity, for they became the executors of its statutes. The sacraments performed by simoniacal or married priests were henceforth to be refused. The mighty weapon of public opinion, very sparingly employed under mediævalism, was invoked to supplement the thunder of the anathemas of the Church against the guilty. The religious standards of the people naturally made stern exactions of the priests, and the monks everywhere were ready for a relentless propaganda of reform. But the opposition was immediate and violent, especially in respect to the obligation of celibacy. Otho of Constance and other bishops of Germany combined to resist it. The Archbishop of Mainz feared to promulgate the laws until after six months, and then his suffragans refused to listen to him, and left the assembly. In France there was equally vehement antagonism; for the Archbishop of Rouen, when he attempted to

enforce the act against marriage, was pelted with stones and fled in despair. A Synod at Paris renounced obedience to the decrees, and the one advocate of the reforms was beaten and thrown into prison. In Spain, the Papal legate, the Abbot of Marseilles, was met with violence when he tried to secure their adoption at the Council of Burgos. Guibert of Ravenna rallied the hosts of the malcontents in Lombardy. Lanfranc in England did not even consider these radical principles for a period of time; but the Council of Winchester, in 1076, decided that thereafter no married person should be admitted to orders. But Hildebrand was not stopped by any of these failures. His exhortation was, "Fear not; despair not; extinguish simony and enforce celibacy, and God will uphold you." To the people of Franconia he sent warning that, by the apostolic authority, they should refuse the ministrations of all condemned priests, whatever their bishops may say to the contrary.

In France the practice of simony was flagrantly prevalent. The Pope addressed the chief prelate of the land, Manasses of Rheims, in an unusual accusation. He charged that the king was the instigator of a series of heinous crimes against man and Church, and the ministry of France was responsible for it, since his actions had not been resisted and preached against. The archbishop was directed to warn King Philip of his own and the kingdom's danger, and tell him that if he refused to heed, the

anathema of the Church would be visited upon him. If that failed to move him, Hildebrand pledged himself to tear the kingdom from his possession. But Manasses was a relative of the royal family, and not likely to proceed against its head; while Philip was not affected by the fulminations from Rome. The Pope, after two years' zealous effort, concluded in an epistle to his friend Hugh, Abbot of Cluny, that the religious situation had not been improved. He wrote: "In the regions of the East, the South, and the North, scarcely any bishops are lawfully admitted to their office, nor do they lead lives conformable to their sacred character. Among the secular princes there are none who prefer God's honor to their own, or righteousness to gain. Those nations among whom I dwell are in some sense worse than Jews or pagans." By reason of such a grievous indictment of society, Hildebrand decided to assemble another Synod. In the call to the convocation, the unfortunate troubles in the Church and the unbridled audacity of its enemies were named as its causes. The Pontiff hoped to force the emperor to renounce his undertaking against the Saxons, and to settle the Christian religion in its original liberty and peace. German affairs had grown critically complicated since the day Henry sent his contrite letter to Rome. The suspicions against Saxony, encouraged by Adelbert of Bremen, developed into open hostility. The aggressions, begun under the pretext of the dis-

loyalty of its duke, aroused the readily turbulent inhabitants. The Saxons made formal charges against the personal character of the king and the evil influence of his counselors. They even endeavored to have a National Assembly meet to depose Henry. The bishops friendly to him were driven from the duchy, and the conflict partook of the nature of a religious war. The uncertain ties of feudalism prevented the king from relying upon his imperial vassals to help crush the disaffection. Instead, the opposition spread more widely, and for a season Henry appeared to be without power or resources. The Pope was eager to intervene, and thus sit in judgment.

At last Henry levied sufficient troops to enable him to treat with the Saxons, and he agreed to surrender the castles which he held. When this condition was slowly executed, a great uprising of the people, in February, 1074, gained the strongholds with violence and plunder. Then the king demanded the condemnation of the rebels by the Pope; but Hildebrand was intent only upon the campaign for clerical purity. It has been hostilely charged that Rome had incited the Saxons. A revulsion of feeling now followed in Germany. Henry won many of the princes to his support. Those Churchmen who fell under the condemnation of Rome became the advocates henceforth of the imperial cause. Hildebrand urged the Dukes of Suabia and Carinthia not to obey their priests, and

this led to a remonstrance from the leading prelates. Two Papal legates endeavored to have a Synod called in Germany to enforce the decrees against simony and marriage; but this aroused the latent sentiment of the National Church, and it was declared no Synod should meet in the presence of Roman legates. Henry personally seemed favorable to such a meeting, though at the same time, with his increasing strength, he pushed his preparations for regaining his authority in Saxony.

At this juncture the second Synod met in Rome, the first week in Lent, February 23-25, 1075. Over fifty bishops were present, with a large company of abbots and priests. All were fervently committed to reform, and no unfriendly prelates were in attendance as in the previous year. Certain bishops of Lombardy and Germany were suspended from their offices. Five counselors of Henry were voted to be excommunicated unless they came to Rome for absolution before June. A similar sentence was threatened against the King of France. The former decrees of the Church against simony and marriage were renewed. A never-relaxing hand had taken the weapons of extermination, and the active alliance of the laity was to win the day. A priest of Treves has given a dark picture of the results of the zeal of the people. The secular priests were frequently brought to extreme poverty, and wandered about without parishes. Many of them were assaulted and foully wounded. The fate of the

unfortunate wives was often most direful, and not a few of them took their own lives. The unusual liberty accorded to the communicants led them to despise the sacraments, and the offices of religion were neglected in many places, so that even the dying were denied the last consolations of their faith. Movements for reform of whatever nature, whether wise or unwise, have ever been marked by the excesses of the multitude, who, vaguely conscious of the real issue, conduct themselves with passion and violence. The non-marriage of all clergy, however, after many desperate struggles, came to be the imperative law, and has prevailed through the centuries, a monument to the inflexible purpose of Hildebrand. Its influence upon the Papal system is inestimable; for celibacy has contributed largely that which is essential and distinctive in the Roman Church. Against the law forbidding simony, the princes and bishops did not dare protest. The guilt of such a charge was always denied, however suspicious the circumstances, and the public expression was uniformly abhorrent of all who benefited by the practice. But the sale of offices for a consideration could not be eradicated for all time. The consistency and right living of all Christians, official and laical, made the conditions of the holding of benefices the problem of each succeeding age. Yet the ambitious genius of Hildebrand believed it had now conceived a sovereign remedy against simony and all clerical abuses.

The startling and revolutionary work of the Synod of 1075 is found in another decree in addition to the customary reform legislation. It was enacted that: "If any one shall from henceforth receive a bishopric or abbey from the hand of any lay person, let him not be reckoned among bishops or abbots, nor let the privilege of audience be granted to him as to a bishop or abbot. We moreover deny to such one the favor of St. Peter and an entrance into the Church until he shall have resigned the dignity which he has obtained, both by the crime of ambition and of disobedience, which is idolatry. And in like manner do we decree concerning the lesser dignitaries of the Church. Also, if any emperor, duke, marquis, count, or any secular person or house whatsoever, shall presume to give investiture, let him know himself to be bound by the force of the same sentence." Thus by one stroke the Church was to cut free from the State, and any official conferring of clerical dignities by the laymen was to be punished with excommunication. It was a decree destined to furnish the two dominant forces of the eleventh century with a battlefield upon which was waged a contest to rival, if not surpass, the 'Thirty Years' War.

A final conclusion of the issue may be considered not to have been reached until the utterance of the Golden Bull in 1356, with Germany divorced from the Papacy. Europe had been long cast in the mold of feudalism, and the first deadly blow struck

against it was the prohibition of lay investiture. The Church itself was invaded by the spirit and the methods of feudalism, and had therefore suffered a disastrous loss of spiritual strength. In the relations of Church and State the feudal practice had come to pass of having the king, just before the consecration of the bishop, deliver to him the ring and the staff. In accepting them, the prelate signified that he held his property as fief of the ruler. In Germany this custom most prevailed, because the Church dignities were real entities with full civil administration and military obligations. As it was common for the bishop to give some present at the time of the ceremony, the act of investiture easily became allied with simony. Also, the implication arose that the spiritual functions, equally with the civil, were under the feudal jurisdiction of the baron or king. This interpretation was most repugnant to the reform party. The sacerdotal ring was meant to typify the espousals which the bishop in Christ's name contracted with the Church. The pastoral staff showed the superintendence which, as representing the Good Shepherd, he was to keep over his flock. When these episcopal symbols were perverted to baronial use, all sacredness in them departed. And benefices too often were conferred at the caprice of the sovereign or for political ends. The reformers said very fitly that the ministry was not derived from civil authority, but was furnished with prerogatives that secular thrones could not

take away. However, this revolution of Hildebrand looked to both spiritual and temporal control of all ecclesiastical offices and possessions. It was the inauguration of the absolutism of the Church. It was a foremost feature of the new program that the Church must be free; but here was besides an article of vastest scope—the Church shall command the earth.

If investiture were henceforth withdrawn from the State, it gave the Pope privileges sufficient to offset the powers of most of the rulers of Europe. In Germany it would repeal the control of the emperor over half his subjects. The great prelates, who were likewise the statesmen and leaders of affairs, would look to Rome for their orders. Their lands and estates became then as free from civil jurisdiction as their persons. There was another possible method of emancipating the priesthood from political dictation. Let the Church surrender all its vast possessions with their feudal complications, and its ministers become as poor and as spiritual as the apostles were. But no one in that age could ever conceive of such a proceeding, least of all Hildebrand, who had fixed his eye upon the perfection of ecclesiastical authority and domain. It is worthy of note that this chief decree of the Synod of 1075, forbidding feudal investiture, was not at once made public. It was held as a trenchant reserve weapon in the Papal armory, while the course of the emperor was yet undetermined in the midst

of the confusion of Saxon affairs. But the two years of the Pontificate of Gregory VII had brought into bold relief the fixed proportions of the Roman Church. Its independence was a practical fact of a new type. The purity of the clergy had not been finally secured, but an unalterable standard had been officially erected. With celibacy assured and simony doomed to be eradicated, the foundations had been completed and a superstructure in progress which must make the Church more victorious through its consistent living, and more potent for the mastery of the earth by reason of the absolute devotion of its servants. In the mind of Hildebrand lay the genius and the purpose to advance the Papacy to a still loftier height.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CHALLENGE BY THE CHURCH.

By one of the sudden shifts peculiar to the feudal allegiance the position of Henry in the Empire underwent a complete reversal. All of the chief barons of the realm, including Rudolph of Suabia, the leading prelates and a largely united Germany made common cause against the lately triumphant Saxony. The agonized prayers of the threatened people and the devoted patriotism of the entire land were in vain. In June, 1075, a crushing defeat was inflicted upon the Saxons along the River Unstrut in Thuringia. The remainder of the year was given to following up the imperial successes, and the conquered territory was then held with a rigor that surpassed the previous occupation by Henry. The change of fortune allowed him to assume a different attitude to the Papacy. This was manifested in his open countenance of simony and the ostentatious instances of royal investiture of Church dignities. The five excommunicated counselors were welcomed back to the court. The emperor also abandoned his declared purpose of negotiating with the Pope in order to

come to harmony in the conduct of ecclesiastical duties. Hildebrand had promptly written him to offer congratulations upon his military triumph, and had expressed belief in his zeal for the clerical reforms.

Later, the Pope discovered the lukewarmness of the royal support, and became convinced that Henry stood in the way of the enforcement of the decrees of the Synod in Germany. Next it was in Italy itself, that the emperor decided to encourage the resistance to the program of the hierarchy. The periodic troubles of Milan culminated in another desperate contest of the anti-Papal forces against the Pataria. Herlembald, who had been sustained in his dictatorship by the influence of Hildebrand, was killed as he bore aloft the sacred banner of St. Peter. The victors appealed to Henry for a nomination to the archbishopric, which had not been suffered to be occupied for several years, and although he had once expressed the wish that the Pope arrange for the vacancy, Tedald, a subdeacon, was named. Gregory VII warned Tebald and the suffragans of Milan against the consecration into the office, but the public received the choice of the emperor joyfully, and the Lombard opposition took on renewed strength. The leader of the imperial party in Italy was Guibert of Ravenna. He encouraged the disaffection at Rome, but the character of his allies there forbade any large following. The cardinal, Hugh the White, resumed his former hos-

tility to Hildebrand, and was associated with Cencius, the son of the former Prefect Stephen, and a riotous adherent of the rejected anti-Pope Cadalus. Guibert likewise endeavored to incite Robert Guiscard and effect a combination of all interests throughout Italy, antagonistic to the Papal party. Henry continued to evince his disregard for the chief decree of the Synod of 1075 by appointing German bishops in Central Italy and sending them to Rome for consecration. In Germany he selected a notoriously unfit person to become Bishop of Bamberg. At length Hildebrand was led to remonstrate and sent his final friendly letter to the king. It conferred the apostolic blessing, if Henry was obedient as befits a Christian king to be to the Apostolic See. It counseled that if he held relations with condemned persons, he promptly confess and receive absolution. The Pope continued: "This seems to us passing strange, that you write to us so often devout epistles, and protest humility, through your envoys, calling yourself a son of our holy mother, the Church, and declaring yourself our subject in faith and unrivaled in your affection to us, and yet you show yourself in action as most intractable and disobedient to the canonical and apostolic decrees." The letter contained a defense of the decree on investitures, citing much Scripture to prove that this authority belonged solely to the Church and was not a new invention. Henry was finally warned not to prefer his own honor to that

of Christ's, nor to infringe upon the liberty of the Church. The Saxon Church was the object of the emperor's attack; and, not yet ready to break entirely with Rome, he sent envoys to secure the consent of the Pope to the removal of the bishops whom he had imprisoned. The Saxons sent a counter embassy, which revived all of the charges against the character of Henry. This was the first of a series of conflicting appeals, recurring for several years, to be made by Henry and the Saxons for the support of Hildebrand.

Now the Pope chose to sustain the Saxons, and sent his legates to the imperial court to recite the accusations of the profligacy of the sovereign and to summon him to appear before the next General Synod on penalty of excommunication. The long restrained antagonism of Church and State developed at once into open warfare. Each leader was possessed of rare skill, and marshaled a wide variety of resources. The battle is one of the most stirring, most desperate, and most dramatic that history records. The Papal summons to judgment was received with the royal scorn and defiance. Then the king hastened to anticipate the action of the Roman Synod, and sent forth orders for a National Council to meet at Worms, January 24, 1076, to proceed against the Pope. In the meantime, a terrifying experience had befallen Hildebrand. Cencius, the brigand, had been suspected of plotting with the imperialist, Bishop Guibert,

and was brought to trial. Only the intervention of Matilda saved him from the death penalty. Already fiercely hostile to the reform party, because it had prevented his election as Prefect of Rome, now he was consumed with a fresh vengeance, and some say he was even instigated by Henry, so that a plot was formed to seize the person of the Pope. It was the daring scheme of a Catiline, adjusted to the insecurity of turbulent mediæval times. The occasion was favorable to Cencius; for Hildebrand, on Christmas eve, was singing midnight mass at the Chapel of the Manger in the Santa Maria Maggiore, on the Esquiline, a remote and dangerous quarter of the city. The Church was one of the most popular in Rome, and usually great throngs attended the special services; but this night a violent storm had reduced the number of worshippers to a mere handful. Menacingly, in the midst of the rites, there sounded the clash of arms and the hoarse cries of a marching band of assailants. Cencius seized the Pope at the altar, and dragged him from the Church, while the confederates wounded him in head and breast. The captive gave no outcry, while at the door of the Church he was stripped of most of the sacred vestments. Then, clad in his amice and stole, he was bound on a horse and borne to the castle of Cencius inside the walls. The city was quickly in an uproar; the alarm bells were rung, companies patrolled the streets with torches, and the great gates were barred by the soldiers.

In the morning the excited populace, gathered upon the Capitoline Hill, learned where the Pontiff was imprisoned. All the fury of the mob was concentrated in a savage assault upon the stronghold of Cencius. Ladders, catapults, and every sort of machine, were turned against the walls which confined the best beloved man in Rome. Such a vigorous attack could not be long withstood. The cruel captor was now brought to abject terror for his own life, and begged the Christian whom he had just insulted and maltreated to intercede with the frenzied people in his behalf. The Pope showed no trace of resentment, and said to the miserable suppliant: "The wrong thou hast done me I pardon as father, but the sin that thou hast committed against God and the whole Church, I order thee to redeem by penance." Hildebrand was led back in triumph to finish the mass at Santa Maria. The homes of Cencius and his band were leveled to the ground; but the word of the Pope protected the arch conspirator. The penance imposed upon him was a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. But the base ruffian hurried from the city in safety, only to break his compact as soon as he reached the castle of the first baron hostile to Rome. The purpose of the plot had entirely failed. It was most humiliating that he, before whom the distant world trembled, should be dragged forth by the hair by a dastardly robber. But predecessors in the Apostolic See had lost their lives in riotous assaults like that of Cencius.

The reform movement in the Church could not be intimidated now by violence offered to the Primate or any champion of a better order. In fact, the reaction operated to the large advantage of the Papal cause. Hildebrand was accorded all the prestige of a martyr. The city of Rome was committed to his support with a new loyalty and intensity.

The Council of German prelates which met at Worms came prepared to do the will of the emperor. Twenty-four bishops were present; but Cologne, Bremen, and Salzburg held aloof. Hugh the White appeared as the chief accuser of the Pope, pretending to be spokesman for the Italian clergy. The list of offenses included bribery, cruelty, licentiousness, witchcraft, worship of the devil, and charges so absurd and puerile as to tax the belief of the Pope's worst enemy. The case had been prejudged. Only two bishops dared suggest the injustice of a trial without the accused being present or having a word offered in his defense. But the hostility of the German clergy was overwhelming, and William, Bishop of Utrecht, urged a decree of deposition against Hildebrand as a proof of allegiance to the emperor. The bishops then formally signed a renunciation of all obedience to Gregory VII, and gave as their reasons—his irregular election, his despotic government, the administration intrusted to the Pataria, and his intimate relations with Beatrice and Matilda, which

had brought female interference in ecclesiastical affairs. The decree was forwarded to the Lombard bishops, who ratified it at a Synod in Piacenza. At the same time a letter was sent by the emperor to the Pontiff, in which his anger and revenge were most evident. It was addressed, "Henry, not by usurpation, but by God's holy will, King, to Hildebrand, not Pope, but false monk." Henry said: "Thou hast trodden the prelates under thy feet as slaves devoid of will. Thou holdest them all as ignorant, thyself alone as wise. We suffered all from reverence for the seat of the apostle; thou mistookest reverence for fear; thou resistedst the royal power itself, which God has conferred upon us, and hast threatened to depose us, as if rule and empire stood not in God's hands, but in thine. Christ has called us to the Empire, but not thee to the Papacy. Thou acquiredst it by craft and fraud. Wilt thou depose me, a blameless king, who am judged by God alone? Does not Peter, the true Pope say, 'Fear God, honor the king?' The judgment of all our bishops condemns thee and says to thee, Leave the apostolic throne which thou hast usurped. Let another take the chair of St. Peter, who will not preach violence, but the sound doctrine of the holy apostle. I, Henry, by the grace of God, king, with all the bishops of my realm, say unto thee, 'Step down; step down; thou eternally damned.'"

Henry, as Patricius of Rome rather than as emperor, had some show of authority to depose Hilde-

brand, but the removal of a Pontiff by the ecclesiastical Council of one nation alone was unprecedented, and the decision at Worms created a great sensation through the West.

The haughtiness of the imperial claims might well be expected to be matched at the coming Synod in Rome, for the career of Gregory VII had been continuously marked by imperiousness and aggressive assertion. The Council opened in the Lateran on February 22d with one hundred and ten Italian and Gallic bishops in attendance. The Empress Agnes and many prominent laymen were present. The deliberations had not begun before the messenger of Henry, a priest of Parma, Roland by name, richly paid for his perilous errand, appeared before the Assembly. Waiving aside formal introduction, his fearless challenge rang out harshly to the presiding dignitary: "The king and the united bishops of Germany and Italy give thee this command: descend at once from the usurped throne of St. Peter; for, without their consent and that of the emperor, no one can attain such dignity." Then Roland turned to the clergy and said: "I summon you, brethren, on the coming Whitsuntide to present yourselves before the king, my master, to receive a Pope; for this pretended pastor is a ravening wolf." The assault of Cencius the robber upon Hildebrand created hardly greater fury than now raged in the Synod. Every prelate was on his feet. Swords were drawn against the bold herald.

An angry cry to seize the offender would likely have ended in actual violence, had not the Pope made his way through the tumult to shield the man with his own body. Hildebrand was the calm master of the situation, ordered Roland to sit at his feet, and resumed the session of the Council. When the letter of the king, with its arrogant judgment, was read, the company was again violently moved, and Hildebrand made an address in which he identified his personal cause as being that of the clergy, the Church, and Christianity, while the devil's forces and Henry's were inseparable. The exhortation of the Pope and the response of the Synod form an antiphonal of war and defiance. "Now, therefore, brethren, it behooves us to draw the avenging sword. Now must we smite the enemy of God and of His Church, that the bruised head, now haughtily erect against the foundation of the faith and of all the Churches, may recoil. Ye have warned him sufficiently. Now let him be made to feel that his conscience has been seared." Then the prelates replied: "Pronounce the doom by which he may himself be crushed, and from which others, for ages to come, may take warning. Draw forth the sword! Inflict judgment! Let the righteous rejoice when he seeth the vengeance, let him wash his footsteps in the blood of the ungodly."

The first action was taken against the German and Lombard bishops who had assented to the de-

position of the Pope. Already some had written to Rome to express penitence for their participation; but all were now excommunicated. Hildebrand then delivered the world-renowned anathema against the emperor, whose mother, sitting at the side of the Pontiff, gave her approval. But the plenitude of Papal sovereignty now was extended to a sentence of dethronement of the most powerful monarch in Europe. Henry was forbidden the rule of the German and Italian kingdoms, and all Christians were released from their oaths of allegiance. Excommunication was pronounced against him because of persistent disobedience to the Church; but the removal from the kingship was a separate punishment. The climax was now reached in the claims of the Papacy to world supremacy. It had been long conceded that the head of the Church had boundless powers of blessing and cursing, but never before had the extreme ecclesiastical censure fallen with such weight and terror as did the excommunication of the emperor. A chronicler of the times says the entire Roman Empire was shaken. Princes might well now ask who can take the reins of government with any assurance that a day may not bring forth a blast from a mere man, assuming to be very God Himself, who shall damn the soul forever, and cast adrift the allegiance of subjects in a breath. Yet Hildebrand was positive in disavowing any personal motive for his act. An epistle addressed to the whole Church on July 25,

1076, said: "No secular end impels us to raise ourselves against bad princes and impious priests, but solely the consideration of our bounden duty and the power of the apostolic chair, which presses upon us day by day. Better were it for us to suffer the death of the body at the hand of tyrants than to consent by our silence, whether from fear or favor, to the destruction of the Christian law." The Pope offered as authority for the penalties visited upon Henry citations from the Pseudo Isidorian Decretals, namely, the deposition of Childebert by Pope Zacharias, and the excommunication of Theodosius the Great by St. Ambrose, along with certain warnings of Gregory I to possibly usurping kings. Hildebrand wrote further, that when the Lord gave to St. Peter the power of binding and loosing in earth and heaven, he excepted no person, not even kings.

On the other hand, many felt that the action of the king against the Pope was an unwarranted usurpation. In the mediæval mind there attached a mysterious sanctity to the Apostolic See. Besides, it first had assumed the right to grant the imperial crown. The absolute command of Henry reduced the Papacy to the subservient rank it had held under his father, when Popes were made and unmade by royal edict without respect to bishops, clergy, or Roman people. In fact, the principals to this life-and-death struggle had each taken the same method of attack. In each leader declaring the other deprived of his rank and office, they had departed from

the warrant of law and seized a right which they did not possess. To a degree, the crisis had the elements of a contest between passion and conscience. Should the selfish, natural desires of the king prevail over the principles of right conduct and the standards of religious conformity, which Hildebrand was set as flint to enforce? The popular belief was freely expressed that the incensed monarch, now at the height of his military renown, would at once crush the presumptuous Pontiff. A speedy invasion of Italy was expected to the end that the Pope, who could not protect himself in Rome from a civil riot, should be made to pay the price of this defiance to an entire nation. But the visible resources of the contestants were in reverse proportion to their true latent strength. Henry's reputation of greatness was built upon an unstable foundation. His triumph had been gained by a temporary union of inharmonious elements. Feudal levies could quickly vanish, the Saxon revolt become again a peril, and the National Church be alienated. Respect and personal loyalty to the king were sadly lacking. On the other hand, Hildebrand was able to develop a most formidable support. His will was absolute, for the hierarchy which he was building had no check from Councils or bishops. He received all the reverence, hallowed by tradition, which belonged to his office, and he asserted himself to be the prophet of righteousness to his generation. In armament the two were totally unequal. It was

the duel of a valiant monarch, wielding a sword, against a Pontiff hurling an anathema. In this age, with all its cruelty and inconsistency, faith was supreme and the scorching condemnation of the Pope carried to all minds a fear not to be mocked nor to be averted.

Hildebrand did not neglect to muster all available material reinforcements. He hastened to make for himself "friends of the mammon of unrighteousness," and planned to secure the alliance of Robert Guiscard, who had been hitherto unfriendly.

The Tuscan arms were arrayed with their extensive power on the side of Rome, since the Countess Matilda was now come into the full control of all Italy north of the Papal States, excepting Lombardy. Her mother, Beatrice, had died at an advanced age, while her husband, Godfrey, was assassinated at Antwerp by a revengeful noble. Henry received at Utrecht the news of the ban placed upon him, and he prepared to render curse for curse. He had just engaged in a work of despotism, visiting Saxony to bind upon it heavier chains of subjection. The king planned to have Hildebrand in turn excommunicated, but the first German prelates whom he ordered to pronounce the sentence fled from the city. William, the Bishop of Utrecht, had been most hostile to the Pope, and now he led in revilings and invective against Hildebrand, uttering the anathema on Easter Day in the cathedral. The king laid his cause in writing before

the nobles and prelates of the realm, charging the Pope with the destruction of the peace between the Church and State, and calling an imperial Diet at Worms in May. But the political reaction peculiar to feudalism was already in progress, and the leading barons became openly disaffected. The Saxons resented the fresh aggressions, and began to gather into bands of revolt. Otto of Nordheim, who had accepted a post under Henry to keep in subjection the Saxons, resigned his task and joined the growing alliance. Hence when the Whitsuntide arrived, few nobles came to the appointed Diet. Moreover, certain of the prelates, who were expected to be present, died after very brief illness. The most noted to be taken suddenly was William of Utrecht, and in that age the interpretation was inevitable that a visitation of God had come upon the blasphemy of the bishop. Many reports gained a wide currency. It was said that he had cried out on his death-bed that demons were waiting for his soul, and that he had sent word to the king that Henry and all his associates were damned to all eternity. The succession of direful portents increased greatly the national alarm. When a second Council of Germany was attempted at Mainz in June, the king met with little more success in rallying the nation to his standard.

The Archbishop of Treves, who had become reconciled with the Pope, was stern against the conduct of Henry, and other Churchmen continued to

join the Papal party. Burchard, the Bishop of Halberstadt, and ablest opponent of the king, escaped from prison to direct the Saxon counsels. A hasty military campaign against them was an utter failure, and soon two-thirds of the feudal lords of the entire Empire were opposed to their monarch. The tactics of the Church party were most skillful. The weight of the anathema of Rome was more and more widely recognized in the Empire. The epistles of the Pope went through the land to instruct and bring conviction to prelates, nobles, and the Church, just as Luther, later, by his trenchant treatises after his defiance of Leo X, aroused and converted his countrymen. Final action against Henry was advised by Hildebrand in his instructions of September 3d to the "faithful in Christ in the German kingdom." The princes were urged to remove the evil advisers of the king, and Henry was exhorted to think of the Church, not as a bondmaid subject to his will, but as a mistress set over him. If he continued to refuse to repent, the Pope directed that "a person be selected for the government of the kingdom who may pledge himself, by a secret but specific promise, to observe the things necessary for the maintenance of religion and for the welfare of the Empire. When you shall have thoroughly decided on Henry's removal, take my advice respecting the person to be chosen to administer."

At a preliminary conference at Ulm, the National Assembly was appointed for October 16th at Tribur,

on the left bank of the Rhine. Here met Rudolph of Suabia, Otto of Nordheim, Guelf of Bavaria, Berthold of Carinthia, and the majority of the Church dignitaries, including Siegfried, Archbishop of Mainz, who now abandoned the imperial party. In seven days' deliberation a torrent of charges, civil and religious, issued against the deserted king, who, in his palace at Oppenheim across the Rhine, a few miles below Tribur, awaited the issue of the Diet. The bill of complaints was drawn in general terms: that Henry had plunged the land into civil war, that his laws gave no justice and protection to his subjects, and that he had destroyed churches and monasteries.

The two legates of Hildebrand in the Council secured readily the approval of the excommunication leveled against the king, but in the matter of his deposition from office the most active of his adversaries were slow to accept the directions of the Pope to proceed at this time to the election of a new ruler. There were stern rejections of the offers of amendment and compromise made by the royal envoys at Tribur, although the Germans considered for a time the insidious proposal of Henry that he be allowed to resign his powers, and at the same time retain his title. The Papal advisers would not consent to this plan, and finally most humiliating conditions were named by the Diet, which the king had to accept in order to forestall the permanent loss of the throne. Hildebrand was

appointed to be the arbiter of the affairs of Henry, and invited to hold his trial at Augsburg on February 2, 1077.

Meanwhile the king's unreserved submission to the Pope must be acknowledged and the ban of excommunication be lifted before February 22, 1077, the anniversary of the Synod of Rome, for the German laws would not suffer an unchurched monarch to continue to rule after the Papal penalty had rested upon him more than a year. Moreover, Henry was to live for the succeeding months as a private person, ceremonially unclean, at Spire, with no honors or armed retainers, having as companions the lately despised wife Bertha, and Dietrich, the Bishop of Verdun, as a sort of spiritual jailer. The failure to observe any of these conditions, some of which were within Henry's power, and others entirely outside of it, would result in the immediate forfeiture of the crown. In this sentence against the king, the claims of the Papacy to supremacy received full vindication. The theocratic theory of Rome was now an actual political reality.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CLIMAX AT CANOSSA.

THE prime necessity of the king, condemned to exile within the confines of his own territory, was to come to terms with the Pope and be free from the sentence of excommunication. A request was taken by the Archbishop of Treves to Rome to allow Henry to come to Italy to make his confession. This would avoid further abasement in the presence of the German nobles, and permit him to resume intercourse with his adherents. But the princes were quick to remonstrate, so that the concession was not granted; nor did it agree with the inclination of Hildebrand. He was now eager to gain the German soil and assume the political power that had been so freely delegated to him. Thereupon, Europe witnessed a marvelous, decisive race, not for the same goal, but a traveling in contrary directions, that the object of the rival should be defeated. The Pope started for the North in December under the escort of the Countess Matilda, and reached Mantua by January 8, 1077, where he awaited the promised escort from Germany for crossing the Alps. Meanwhile Henry had grown desperate over

the refusal to receive him at Rome, and was ready to perform the impossible rather than to lose his kingdom. He invoked the intercession of his god-father, the influential Abbot Hugh of Cluny, and made his plans to start for the South. It was not difficult for the isolated sovereign to get away from Spire through Burgundy to the Alps at the foot of Mt. Cenis. This was the territory of Adelaide, the Marchioness of Susa, the mother of his wife Bertha, who, with her infant son Conrad, and one faithful attendant, accompanied the flight.

By the passes of the Alps to the East, all egress was guarded through the vigilance of the hostile Dukes of Bavaria and Carinthia. Even Adelaide was ready to take advantage of her son-in-law's necessity, and drove a hard bargain in the gaining of a rich province in Burgundy in return for a free passage. The elements raised yet more terrifying dangers, since this winter was the most severe of the century, the Rhine being frozen deeply from November to April. The route of the Great St. Bernard, which was selected, was always considered quite impassable during the month of January, that now, in 1077, found Henry started upon the ascent. The rigors of snow and cold were endured until the small company, with its guides, reached the summit of the Juras, when here even the hospice had been deserted by its keepers. The descent to the vale of Aosta was still more perilous by reason of the precipices of ice and the many sharp declivi-

ties. But by means of ropes, planks, and sleds of hide, at infinite risk and intense suffering the journey was accomplished at last in safety, with the loss of life only to most of the horses taken by the party. A reception met Henry in Italy which threw into painful relief his altered fortunes. Lombardy was the loyal land of his adherents. Milan, under its defiant Archbishop Tedald, had continued to resist the reforms of Hildebrand. Hence the public belief was all prevalent that the emperor had arrived to avenge the insults long given by Rome. Such had been the rôle of previous German sovereigns, and with the large force that at once attached itself to him, Henry could have advanced in menacing array. Instead of this, pretexts and excuses had to be made to the prelates and clamorous Italian nobles, and the royal pilgrim said he would ask the Pope for explanations at the interview to which he must hasten. Not a word was uttered about the hostile nation he had escaped, but there was the ever-present thought of the lessening limit of time within which the crushing ban was able to be removed.

The incursion of Henry into Italy had first filled Hildebrand with apprehension. It was prudent to seek a place of utmost safety, and this was happily afforded at Canossa in the Apennines, the strongest fortress of the valiant Matilda. It stood on the right bank of the Ofanti, a tributary of the Po, high above the Lombard plain. Upon the very

summit the castle held guard, a gaunt mass of white rock protected by a triple wall, and accessible upon but one side. All about and below was bleak and sterile, but to the north the splendid view opened of the entire expanse from Lucca to Modena. To Canossa in the tenth century the beautiful, persecuted Adelaide had fled for refuge, and Otto the Great came as the bold knight from Germany to deliver and win her for his empress. Now, thither a strange procession from beyond the Alps appeared in advance of the suppliant king, who halted at Reggio, fifteen miles away. These were the bishops who had participated in the repudiation of Hildebrand at Henry's Council of Worms in 1076, and had been abandoned by the king in accordance with the Oppenheim agreement. Certain nobles of the imperial party were in their train, and all came in bare feet and penitential garments to beg the forgiveness of the Pope, and ask for restoration to the sacraments of the Church. Various penances of fasting and solitary confinements were imposed, after which the Papal blessing was bestowed, at the same time with solemn warnings not to repeat the offenses.

Meanwhile the chief culprit, having left behind his disappointed partisans, pushed on to the foot of the unfriendly ascent to the castle. A succession of negotiations followed with his cousin, the Countess Matilda, Adelaide of Susa, and Hugh of Cluny, who were asked to prepare the way for an

audience with the Pope. But now, in the fullness of his triumph, Hildebrand held an uncompromising attitude. His extreme theory of the Church supremacy allowed no recognition of the station and dignity of a mere sovereign, when the decisions of a Council had been disobeyed. The opportunity had arrived of giving a practical, world-terrifying illustration of the assertions of Papal authority over a suppliant monarch, the proudest in Europe, under the guise of an act of ecclesiastical discipline. The first condition demanded by the Pontiff was that the German crown should be resigned, and all insignia of power delivered into the hands of the Vicegerent of God, an exact imitation of the feudal symbolism. Upon the refusal of the king and the remonstrance of the advisers at Canossa against these terms, Henry was permitted to approach the gate of the castle and pass alone within the two outer walls, to be stopped before the third strong circle of the fortifications at a door, which yet stands to-day and significantly is marked "Porta di Penitenza." He had presented himself in the prescribed costume indicative of his abasement, the white linen penitential shirt and with feet bared to the rigors of the most intense midwinter. In the deep snow he stood that January day of 1077, a tragic suppliant, making unreserved surrender to the judge who sat behind the barred gate in the warm palace chamber. Yet no order to admit went forth; for penance, grievous and never to be forgotten in the

endless panorama of history, must be exacted from the unfortunate Henry, even before an interview or confession was granted. But this was not a denial of one day; the second, the third found the fasting, suffering king knocking in vain at the gate of penitence. The severity of the confessor had all but exhausted the endurance of the man, who was constrained to abandon all hope of reconciliation, when the intercessions of Matilda and Abbot Hugh secured the conclusion of the woful spectacle.

On the fourth day, the Emperor of Germany and Italy came into the presence of the Supreme Pontiff. The contrast of the two was as vivid and amazing as the inequality of their fortunes at that moment. The Teuton ruler was fair, tall, and handsome, with the vigor of years yet few beyond a score, while the priest was dark, of small stature, and insignificant of appearance, bowed by his three-score years and regimen of self-denial. The State and the Church had met in their chief representative embodiments. But the occasion was the climax of the Pope's earthly conquest. Henry cast himself upon the ground, weeping violently, and called out, "Have pity upon me, spare me, Holy Father," while from the terrible glance of Hildebrand, the chronicler says, the eye of every beholder recoiled as from lightning. At length the king was raised in pardon by the Pope, who gave his blessing and led the restored son of the Church to the chapel, where mass was said. Forgiveness, however, had

been granted only under conditions as harsh as those pronounced at Tribur. The trial of the sovereign upon the charges preferred by his subjects was yet to be held at a place and a time named by the Pope, who would sit as judge. If the sentence should be one of guilt the Empire would pass from Henry. In the interval before the trial, he must relinquish all symbols of office and rank, living upon his private resources. In addition, he must furnish a safe conduct for the Pope to Germany, and pledge himself not to take any measures of retaliation. Summing it all up, he must be obedient to the Roman Church in everything, and thus aid in its reforms. Hildebrand insisted that security be given that Henry would keep his oath, and these pledges were made by Azzo, Marquis of Este, the Bishop of Vercelli, Chancellor of the Kingdom of Italy, and others. The emperor had attained the object of his flight into Italy, but at what a cost! The anathema was removed, yet at the same time the most cruel indignities had been heaped upon this descendant of illustrious kings. He had made a political confession rather than a personal one. The events at Canossa form a drama of thrilling significance by reason of the lofty rank and power of the actors, and yet again they partake largely of the nature of a masquerade. Hildebrand, in answering those who protested against the absolution granted to the king, said, "Do not fear, for I send him back more guilty than he came." The pardon was scarcely a

truce in the desperate contest for temporal supremacy.

The Pope sent a detailed report to the German princes of the incidents at Canossa, picturing vividly the subjection of the emperor, and he announced that he was coming over the Alps at the first opportunity to hold the mooted Council. He urged that the whole affair with regard to Henry was still in suspense, and the unanimous counsels of nobles and Churchmen were necessary to conclude it. And yet judgment against the accused sovereign had in effect been rendered when the Pope inflicted upon him the excessive degradation of the snow-bound fortress. A warfare, severe and protracted until the death of Hildebrand, even ages afterward, was to ensue. Nevertheless, Canossa had ushered in a new mighty epoch in Papal history. The final article of the ecclesiastical revolution, planned by the master-builder in the line of St. Peter's successors, had come into operation. The electorate of the College of Cardinals would not be invariably exercised; a stout fight must be waged in behalf of the celibacy of the clergy, and simony was often to recrudescence as a hateful practice. But Canossa had created a precedent. The claim which hitherto had been an hypothesis, that the Apostolic See held authority paramount to the State, was now given practical demonstration. This was the principle to shape the attitude of the hierarchy from that time to the temporal power asserted to-day by Pius X as a fundamental tenet.

At Sutri three Popes consented that the emperor should judge and remove them from their places; thirty years later the son of Henry III admitted that he held his crown at the will and pleasure of the Pope. No further aggressive advance needed to be attempted by the Roman Church. Its policy of the future was never to withdraw one jot or tittle from the universal sovereignty that Gregory VII had gained in a single interview. However, the triumph of Hildebrand, both in its nature and its endurance, was premature. There was bound to be a reaction from the heights of absolutism that was asserted. Unhappily the very method of securing the victory contributed to the undoing of the Pope. He himself recorded that he had been accused of the savage cruelty of a tyrant rather than the severity of an apostle in his treatment of Henry. It gave an opportunity to attack the personal character of the Pontiff as merciless and despotic. The sentiment of common humanity revolted against the excesses of the humiliations inflicted. The king could thereafter pose as a martyr, and the form of the penalty operated in the end to incite much of Germany to his support. Penance had been visited upon men of high rank before this instance, but never upon one of equal dignity or under such harrowing circumstances. It revealed Hildebrand in a light that not all of his generation had realized him to occupy. The inflexible spirit had possessed him from youth, and it was to have undiminished

expression to the close of his stormy days. He did not spare himself. The rigor against Henry was of the very essence of his nature and belonged to the age in which he moved.

There were other agencies helping the reaction from the climax at Canossa. The progress of the religious reforms of Rome in Germany had become entangled with the political ambitions of the Church over the Empire, and the feudal princes must sooner or later refuse to accept any other sway than that of the native ruler. The priests in Lombardy, who were branded guilty by the decrees against simony and marriage, instigated a relentless antagonism. The confession of Henry was made for political purposes, and his contrition was likewise ulterior and transitory. His one consuming endeavor after Canossa was to wreak vengeance. The Pope must be dragged through the same humiliation he had practiced upon the German sovereign. Henry was made into another man by his experience, and he warred against the Papacy with a desperation that succeeding emperors emulated, even though it brought annihilation to the Hohenstauffen dynasty. The day that the king was dismissed from the castle and went to join his adherents at Reggio, he met only with averted glances and scorn. It seemed that he had made his shameful sacrifice to retain Germany, while at the same time Italy was likely to renounce his rule. There were suggestions that the child Conrad be given the throne. The father

was despised by the Lombards, as having become the servant and feudal vassal of the Pope they hated, just as later the barons of England spurned King John when he surrendered his title at the command of Innocent III. Henry pleaded his acts to be the result of compulsion, and though the imperialists of Italy were not quick to accept this excuse, they did not fail to give him support in arms.

Meanwhile Hildebrand had sent his legate to Milan to notify the people that he removed the excommunication laid upon them because of their intercourse with the emperor, who was now forgiven. But the Lombards flouted the grace granted them, and persisted in holding no relations with the monk whom the Council of Worms had removed from the Primacy, and then the Diet of Tribur had vindicated, but whom North Italy was not willing to restore. Henry prudently proceeded with his plans of opposition to the Pope, and first endeavored in vain to draw him into another conference away from Canossa. He then asked that the iron crown of the Lombards should be bestowed upon him at Monza as the ruler of Italy. This would have involved a concession in the position of Hildebrand, and was refused, though Henry alleged that he was entitled to the recognition, since his administration in Germany alone had been condemned. The king yet moved warily, but in the increasing confidence and strength of the royal cause against the Papal. He gathered about him the

former advisers, who had been banished; he consented to the imprisonment of the legates of the Pontiff, and claimed that his rights as sovereign had been violated. Finally he made the charge, openly and repeatedly, that Hildebrand was the sole cause of the confusion, unrest, and conflicts of the people. These were the surest measures to win the Northern cities unreservedly to the imperial side, and their alienation now wearing away, the military forces of the king were so reinforced and extended that Hildebrand became virtually a prisoner in the mountain fortress where so recently he had lorded it imperiously. No overt act of hostility was committed by Henry, yet in effect he had nullified all of his pledges. An immediate test was afforded when he was asked to furnish a safe conduct for the Pope across the Alps.

After the flight of the emperor from Spire, the Germans under Rudolph and other feudal chiefs grew clamorous for the projected National Diet that should weigh the charges against the fugitive. At a conference at Ulm they changed the place of meeting from Augsburg to Forcheim, and asked the presence of the Pope in March. He sent the German envoy with a Papal messenger to the king to request an escort into Germany; and at the same time Henry was officially summoned to attend the Council. But the ruler of Italy, busy with the affairs of the country which he was now for the first time visiting, excused his inability to go to

Forcheim, both from the shortness of the time allowed him, and also by reason of the pressure of his present royal duties. The safe conduct he refused to provide. The position of the late contestants had radically changed. In the appeal to force once more the man with the sword was too powerful for the priest with his rosary. Hildebrand was constrained to remain more or less beleaguered at Canossa, while his legates made their way to the Northern Diet.

CHAPTER X.

THE ENCOUNTER WITH THE EMPIRE.

FORCHEIM is in Bavaria ; yet in the large Assembly of March 13, 1077, only two of its thirteen bishops appeared. The western sections of Germany were slightly represented, but the Saxons largely made up the majority. The proceedings moved too swiftly for the Papal delegates, whose instructions did not look to the immediate election of a king in the absence of the Pope from the Diet. The princes who had fought Henry in the past insisted upon radical action, and the ambitions of his brother-in-law, Rudolph of Suabia, had been long deferred. The full catalogue of the crimes of the distant sovereign was once more recited. Then, under the leadership of Siegfried, the Primate of Germany, a unanimous vote was cast on the third day of the session for Rudolph, who was crowned on March 26th in the cathedral at Mainz. Yet, even in the midst of the election, the rivalries of the feudal adherents broke out, and had to be placated. The legates of Hildebrand consented to the choice of Rudolph, and attended the ceremonies of coronation. They saw that the newly made ruler pledged

himself to condemn all forms of simony, and to allow all ecclesiastical elections to proceed in canonical form. In fact, Rudolph was valiant for the Church reforms, and this at the outset arrayed against him the many clericals of the nation who would not adopt them. Risings took place in several of the cities of South Germany, and it became clear that a united people did not support the change of kings.

This condition introduced the second stage of the great conflict between Gregory VII and Henry, and its ruinous consequences were to be actively protracted through seventeen years. The Pope had not directly ordered the succession in the monarchy, nor had he recalled the deposition uttered at Rome. The program of clerical reform in Germany was not executed solely on its merits, but was unfortunately associated with the hereditary hostility of Saxony to the Empire. The logic of events would seem to have placed the Pope as the firm champion of Rudolph, yet such a stand was not taken by him until three years of civil war had passed. Much blame from two sides has been visited upon Hildebrand—on the one hand, that he did not stop the bloodshed and rapine by virtue of his office as supreme minister of the Prince of Peace; and on the other hand, because he did not immediately declare in behalf of Rudolph and the Saxons. Upon the news from Forcheim, Henry at Pavia was prompt to lodge complaint with the Pope and de-

mand the excommunication of Rudolph as a usurper. But the Pontiff fell back on the excuse that a trial must be held, and said if the Suabian king failed to clear himself, he would be condemned. The rejected ruler thereupon decided to carry his claims home in person to his subjects, and by the eastern Alps passed into Carinthia, advancing not now alone, as upon his journey into Italy, but attended by an enlarging host that numbered twelve thousand soldiers in May when he encamped at Ratisbon.

The latent loyalty of the Germans for the legitimate monarchy had asserted itself. Another one of the frequent startling reactions under feudalism was in progress. Burgundy, Franconia, Bohemia, and the Palatinate enrolled under the old banner. Rudolph had made an early appeal to the Pope for support, and now, when the two large hostile bodies were seeking a favorable opening to attack, Hildebrand, on June 15th, issued orders by his legates to the contestants. Each was named as king, and summoned to furnish him a safe conduct over the mountains, so that an examination could be made into which had the legal warrant to rule. The letter said that it was the duty of the Apostolic See to adjudge the quarrel, along with the counsel of the pious clergy and laity of the realm. Whichever should refuse to listen to the Papal command was to be debarred from his title. Neither rival furnished the required guard. Henry well knew the

decision of such a trial would be against him. The Saxons were aggrieved and overwhelmed that the Pope yet reckoned on any claims at all of Henry. Disappointed in his desire to get to Germany, Hildebrand turned back to Rome and received there, in September, a loyal welcome. The affairs of the Church in many lands occupied him closely, while in South Italy the Normans had not ceased to encroach.

In the civil war of the North, neither king gained an advantage. Henry did not receive in season the expected reinforcements to enable an attack upon Saxon territory, while Rudolph, after a month's siege, failed to capture Würzburg, an imperial stronghold. When battle was declined by Henry along the Neckar, his partisans arranged with Welf of Bavaria and Berthold of Carinthia, allies of the Saxons, that a truce ensue. During this period a Diet was to be held along the Rhine on November 1st to weigh the merits of the two kings, who should not be present, but the Papal delegates were to participate in the deliberations. If either contestant put any obstacle in the way of the conference, all would turn against him and the chance of the crown be lost. The apostolic legate who was in Henry's camp approved this plan, and submitted a fresh letter from Hildebrand asking once more for the long-wished Council at Augsburg, over which he should preside. Although Henry assented to the truce, in no point did he observe it, but con-

tinued his campaigns against Suabia and elsewhere. The Saxons in thorough exasperation called for the infliction of the penalty, and accordingly at Goslar, the capital of Rudolph, on November 15th, the cardinal legate pronounced Henry excommunicated, and prohibited him from the rule of Germany, at the same time declaring Rudolph to be the lawful king. Thus did the servant in the Church follow the precedent of the master cleric in disposing of temporal crowns and civil offices, but the authority of Cardinal Bernard for this act came into question at the Synod of 1078 in Rome. This was the fourth great conclave, the absence at Canossa in the previous year having made an interval in the sessions.

A broad invitation had been issued, inviting all opponents of the reform legislation to be present without danger of prosecution. The Lombards did not accept the terms, but seventy bishops of France and Central Italy responded. Henry was represented by two of his ablest prelates. They inaugurated that policy of diplomatic evasion which was to enable their sovereign to escape for two years a final accounting with the Pope. The blame for all the confusion was laid upon Rudolph, and this bold front carried with it a large following in the Synod. The messengers of Rudolph were received privately and assured of the sympathy of Hildebrand. But the anathema of the legate against Henry was not confirmed, because of the plea that all the conditions in Germany were not yet clearly apprehended.

The only solution offered was a National Diet under the Papal presidency, and a most solemn ceremony was devoted to cursing ecclesiastically any one, high or low, who would prevent such an assembly. The cause of Henry made a real gain, when two nuncios were delegated to urge upon him the plan. These olive-branch bearers from Rome were put much on exhibition by the crafty Teuton as evidence of the good will of the Holy Father. The king did make a pretense again of negotiating with the Saxons, who met him only to learn there was no sincere purpose of allowing a Diet. The military encounters had indecisive results, so that Henry was able to inform the Pope that he was in wide control of the land.

Once again at Rome, in December, a special Council endeavored in vain to settle the contest. Each party sent its envoys, who declared in turn they had not stood in the way of the national meeting. Instructions sent to the seat of war met with a similar show of compliance, and the ravages by arms continued. The regular Synod of 1079, in February, attracted a representative number of Churchmen. The prevailing farce as to Germany ensued. Charges and counter charges came from the antagonistic delegates. Now the story of the suffering of the Saxons grew more terrible, and the envoy of Henry was constrained to take oath that within forty days his master would furnish safe conduct for the Papal legates to arrange for an

arbitration. At each of the Synods since Canossa the condemnation of simony and the marriage of the clergy had been repeated, and various guilty ones put under the ban. Yet at this time the severity attendant upon the Papal anathema was moderated. Whereas it formerly affected every person having relations with the condemned, exemption was now made of those who from necessity or ignorance came in contact with the unchurched. It is to be noted that the prohibition of lay investiture had not been restated after 1076, and some who had taken the symbols of their office, the ring and staff, at the hands of Henry, were peaceably received.

A matter of doctrine demanded settlement at this session, yet the question of belief assumed by no means such towering proportions as a dispute over authority. Berenger, at the age of eighty, a long suspected heretic, appeared for trial. The summons before Nicholas II in 1059 had compelled a statement of his belief in the Real Presence in the Sacrament, although the then powerful Archdeacon Hildebrand showed him marked favor. The persistence of Berenger at Tours in the criticism of the accepted dogma aroused the strictly orthodox, and certain antagonists of the Pope insisted upon the silencing of the heretic, making it at the same time an occasion for an attack upon the Head of the Church. Pressure was accordingly applied to Berenger, who confessed to the belief, the statement being prepared under Papal direction, that the

elements of bread and wine are converted into the true body and blood of Jesus Christ, not only by virtue of a sacrament, but in truth of substance. Hildebrand thereupon sent him away with a certificate of doctrinal soundness, warning all the faithful that the censures of the Church would fall upon whosoever called Berenger an unbeliever. Thereafter his enemies branded the Pope as unsafe in doctrine, and not an advocate of that cardinal tenet of transubstantiation which served as the very basis of the sacerdotal sway that he stood to perfect. Three notable legates went from the Synod to the emperor, the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Bishop of Padua, and Peter Igneus, now Bishop of Alba, who had sustained the ordeal by fire at Florence. The demoralization in Germany had increased. An army of peasants, enrolled by Henry, had met annihilation on the Neckar. But the king was on the alert, and succeeded in corrupting the Papal embassy itself, bribing two of its members. They conducted the usual fruitless interviews and Henry, bold in the power of his money, even demanded that they pass condemnation upon Rudolph as a rebel. A truce for a brief season was the only concession gained. The true state of affairs was reported to Rome by Peter Igneus, and as vast plans were made to crush the Saxons in a final war, the Pope wrote to encourage their king. He was assured that justice would be done him and exhorted not to lose confidence in the friendship of the Church nor to faint

in the long protracted conflict. The invasion of Thuringia brought the first severe fighting, and at Förshheim on the *Unstrut*, on January 27, 1080, the Saxons drove their enemies from the field. But the advantage was not followed up, because of revolts at home, stimulated by Henry. In this extremity an indignant appeal was made to Hildebrand. He had been told in the earliest remonstrance that, through obedience to their pastor, the Bishop of Rome, they had exposed themselves to the jaws of the wolf. In March, 1080, they wrote: "Where is your far-famed activity, once so ready to chastise every disobedience? In the name of Christ, we implore you, take heart once more. For the sake, if not of our conscience, at least of your own, arrest the dreadful work of slaughter. If you refuse to restrain him who rages against us, no plea can justify you before the all-righteous Judge for our destruction."

The Synod in Lent of 1080 was attended by large numbers of the other clergy, in addition to the accredited bishops. It was evident that the prized plan of a Transalpine Council to adjust German affairs must be abandoned. The period of indecision had closed, and Hildebrand resumed his former position of boldness. The Saxon envoys received the universal favor of the Assembly, while the excuses of Henry were no longer tolerated. First, the Synod passed general orders against lay investiture, with heavier penalties than those of the

Synod of 1076. All civil authorities of every rank were prohibited from conferring their offices upon Churchmen, and absolutely free election to their positions was enjoined. If there was any perversion of the canonical form through secular influence, then the appointment fell to the Pope or metropolitan. Thus a basis being laid for reopening the paramount issue with the ruler of Germany, there followed a repetition of the epoch-making anathema of four years previous. On the 7th of March, under the spell of deep emotion that characterized this official utterance, Hildebrand rehearsed the story of the dealings of the Church with Henry in great detail. Then the Pope, invoking St. Peter, the prince of apostles, and St. Paul, the teacher of nations, placed Henry under the ban of excommunication, and deprived him anew of the kingdom of Germany and Italy. All Christians were forbidden to obey him as king and absolved from their allegiance. Rudolph was then granted, in the name of the Synod, the right to govern and defend the kingdom to which the Germans had elected him. The address concluded with the following imperious exhortation: "So act, holy fathers, that the whole world may know that, if you had the power to loose and bind in heaven, you have the power upon earth to take from or to give to each, according to his merits, kingdoms, empires, and all other possessions. You have often taken primacies and bishoprics from the unworthy to give them to holy

men. If you judge spiritual things, how much the more power have you over things temporal." It is claimed that a crown was sent to Rudolph with the inscription, "Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rudolfo." The Pope seemed possessed of a frenzy in his advocacy of the Saxon leader, and ventured to prophesy that within four months Henry would be defeated and dead. The Church had committed itself irrevocably to a life-and-death struggle with the Empires.

But this second hurling of the thunderbolts of the Roman Curia had no results commensurate with the act of four years earlier. The position of the contestants was not the least affected so as to improve the fortunes of the friends of reform. The operation of the Papal anathema had been modified in order to forestall any loss in its efficiency; but now the German clergy, outside of Saxony, repudiated the ban placed upon Henry. Moreover they made reprisal in a more dangerous form than the simple deposition of Hildebrand, as in the Council of Worms; they prepared to elect a Pontiff in his place.

After the preliminary conference, there met, on June 23d, at Brixen in the Tyrol, thirty Teuton and Lombard bishops, who voted to remove Gregory VII from the Papal See. That inveterate enemy, Hugh the White, again led in his accusations of Hildebrand, charging him with securing his election by fraud and money, divorcing husbands from wives,

being an old disciple of Berenger, and a notorious necromancer. Guibert, the head of the Italian opposition, was elected by the Council, and assumed the title of Clement III, making Ravenna his capital. This move gave much strength to the hostile forces south of the Alps, and extensive military enterprises were begun. Henry invited the various nations of Europe to recognize his new Pontiff; but in his failure to receive any support, it was seen that the merits of his fight for his crown were now confused with a feud for the government of the Church. The estimate placed by Hildebrand on the Council of Brixen was expressed plainly in a letter of July 21st to the Bishop of Apulia: "Many disciples of Satan, who in divers countries are falsely called bishops, have endeavored to confound the Romish Church. In this Council of Satan was assembled those whose life is scandalous and whose ordination heretical on account of their heinous sins."

The Pope realized the need of new alliances against this more concentrated combination, and turned to the troublesome Normans. Robert Guiscard was willing to come to terms and thereby secure from the Church the confirmation of his conquests. The surrender of the Papal lands could no longer be demanded; but at a conference, arranged by the Abbot of Monte Cassino, near Aquino, in June, the famous warrior took the oath of fealty, pledging himself to defend the dominions of St. Peter, and agreeing to pay a tribute of twelve pence

of Pairan money for every yoke of oxen. Thus the oft excommunicated Guiscard was absolved at last, and his arms blessed. But he proved a capricious guardian of the Papal interests, and at the very time of the negotiations the project of a mighty attack upon the Eastern Empire occupied him. The desire of the Pope to have him undertake a movement against Ravenna was accordingly thwarted.

Henry likewise, during the summer, planned large military advances; for he felt that he could not proceed against Rome effectually until the Saxon contest was ended. The armies came together, October 15th, on the Elster, near the site of the present city of Leipsic. Henry was driven from the field, and the rich booty in his camp recovered. The apparent victory bore a fatal loss to the Saxons in the death of Rudolph, who was slain by the youthful Godfrey of Bouillon, who was to become after the first Crusade the king of Jerusalem. The adherents of the slain leader were not vanquished, and they resisted all overtures from Henry to accept his son as their ruler or to make terms of peace which did not include Italy. Yet they missed a strong hand to direct, while the Pope advised delay and prudence in electing a master. Such an interval afforded the king freedom to push his larger conflict beyond the Alps. On the same day as the battle on the Elster, his Lombard partisans had defeated the army of the Countess Matilda. The final, acute stage of the issue between the

Church and the Empire was now reached, and the vengeance nursed since Canossa neared satisfaction. Nevertheless, four successive assaults must be delivered against Rome before the purpose was attained, in 1084.

While the German forces were marching into Italy, the usual Synod met in Lent of 1081. The assembly was small, for only those near the city could attend. The times were full of uncertainty, and much apprehension prevailed as to the movements in Lombardy. But measures of condemnation were the order of the day. Those prelates who had not sent excuses for their absence suffered temporary suspension from their offices, and excommunication was entered afresh upon one Henry, falsely called king. A debate ensued as to whether the property of the Church should be pledged to furnish resistance to the anti-Pope and his champion, but no official decision was reached. The king made a swift attack upon the domains of Matilda; several cities of the plain fell, but the mountain strongholds defied capture. Mediæval stories describe the countess as riding forth to war like a man, clad in a long red robe, and having the personal command of her troops. This crisis in the fortunes of Hildebrand called forth a degree of fortitude and faith that give him imperishable renown among mortals. He assumed a position of independence unknown to any previous period of his career. His spirit rose the more indomitable

as the perils of his Pontificate grew more formidable. Such courage kept for him the leadership of Rome, which now shared his resoluteness, strengthened its fortifications, and stood ready to make every sacrifice. Therefore, when Henry appeared in the Neronian field on May 23d, he was mocked from the walls.

The traditional hatred of the Roman for the Teuton blazed as fiercely as ever. The king had expected the gates to be opened at his approach. He failed to gauge the power of the Pope over the sacred capital, whose nobles were rallied in solid support, and whence all disaffected had long since drawn away to the camp of the rival Guibert. The inadequate German forces dared not risk an assault, and the heat of July brought the first siege to an end. Yet the future was ominous for Papal success. No military succor seemed immediate. Robert Guiscard bent all his energies upon the warfare in the East, while Matilda fought for very existence in Tuscany. But no gloom or faintness came over the mind of Hildebrand. He would herald disasters as the badge of his office. Humility and defiance mingled themselves in his utterances. He wrote: "It is true I am a sinner, nor do I hesitate to confess it. But those who hate me and who malign me do so, not because they had detected any wickedness in me, but because I have spoken the truth and opposed myself to unrighteousness."

Henry could not be induced to draw out of

Italy, even though the Saxons had chosen another king in the person of Herman of Luxemburg, and had defeated an army of the absent emperor. A larger force being collected in 1082, the Germans in March again surrounded Rome, but the weather of even the early spring was a defense to the city, and the army retired to establish garrisons in more healthy places. The anti-Pope took his residence at Tivoli. The closer investment of Rome prevented the regular Synod of the Church, and in its stead an apostolic message of consolation and courage was dispatched through Europe: "We know that you sympathize with us in our difficulties and in your prayers make mention of us. Ye are confident that we do the like with respect to you. We all wish that the ungodly should repent and return to their Creator. We all seek that the holy Church, now trampled down through the world and divided, may be restored to her pristine strength. Marvel not if the world hate you, for we ourselves irritate it against us while we set ourselves against its lusts and condemn its actions. Think how soldiers every day expose their lives for the sake of vile wages for earthly masters, and what suffer we for the King of kings and for the reward of everlasting glory. Rouse yourselves, then, and be strong. Have before your eyes the banner of our leader, the Eternal King. It was His word, 'In your patience possess ye your souls. If we suffer, we shall also reign with Him.'" No general on the

field of victory could have spoken with more inspiring assurance.

The Saxons next prepared to cross the mountains and fall upon the rear of the besiegers ; but the death of Otto of Nordheim, who had been the real leader in every battle, took away the courage of the enterprise. The siege of Rome in the third year extended for five months without interruption, until, in June, a sudden assault won the Leonine City across the Tiber, and Henry at last could date his official decrees from St. Peter's and the Vatican. The anti-Pope held a Council of the Churchmen accompanying the army, where decrees were passed that the excommunication of the king by Hildebrand was irregular and void, and that the oath, once given to the sovereign, could not be violated. Yet the same Assembly recorded its condemnation of simony, adopting the inevitable program of the reformer whom it repudiated. The true Pontiff was a stubborn reality yet to be reckoned with, intrenched in the main part of the city. Henry appeared willing to recognize the strength of his opponent, for he tried to arrange a compromise with the defenders. A large distribution of gold helped his cause, and many Romans seconded his efforts, some going so far as to pledge themselves to desert the Pope if he would not consent to some agreement. The warrior outside the walls wanted the crown as emperor. But the Holy See made the reply, "non possumus." All that had been fought

for would have been lost in such a surrender. Confession of sins and amends to the Church must precede absolution. Then the citizens requested that the great Synod, which had not met for two years, should convene, and Henry approved, promising to prevent no one from attendance. The German troops withdrew, and apparently all roads led to Rome freely. It might have seemed that the case of the king was about to be tried at last on the Tiber, rather than in Germany, so frequently proposed. The Council met on November 20, 1083, but it was a pitiful handful of prelates from Southern France and scattered Germany and Italy. The pledge of non-interference had not been observed, so that several of the most valiant supporters of the Pope were barred from going to the Synod. If the adherents of Guibert had first thought of trying to outnumber the reformers in the gathering, they abandoned the plan later. The session was a brief one of but three days. None save Hildebrand was suffered to preside, whatever may have been the wishes of Henry.

Meeting under such circumstances of impending disaster, the Pontiff reached extreme heights of moral heroism and physical courage. All consideration of merely human policy disappeared before him. The excommunication of the king was not repeated; yet a final bolt of denunciation was launched against those parties who had stopped the free passage of the bishops to Rome. A closing

scene translated the little company from its earthly conditions, as its leader in a rapture of devotion and eloquence spoke of the light afflictions of the moment, the rich rewards of the future, and the virtue of fidelity to the great doctrines of the Church. The immediate fortunes of Rome now had a connection with other enterprises. The attack of Robert Guiscard on Constantinople led the Eastern emperor to join common cause with Henry, whom he subsidized liberally and urged to invade the Norman territory. The Pope had implored his distant ally in vain during the protracted sieges to return to Italy for his relief. Henry, in his temporary withdrawals from Rome, had made ineffectual assaults upon Matilda in her fortress at Canossa. He then directed a short campaign into South Italy, and this resulted in the recalling of the Norman leader from the East. When the Germans returned to the walls of the capital, all negotiations of the citizens for a compromise were discarded. The bearing of Hildebrand at the Synod had restored a measure of courage and led to further resistance; but more material considerations also entered in the form of thirty thousand gold crowns forwarded by Guiscard. Through the winter months the Papal voice exhorted: "We know that our brethren are wearied by the length of the struggle; but there is nothing nobler than to fight long for the liberty of the Church. Let others submit to a miserable serfdom; Christians are called to deliver the unfortunates

from it." The stout hearts and the strong walls seemed to be impregnable, and the siege was about to be again adjourned, when an embassy from the people announced their resistance to be at an end, and threw open the Lateran Gate to the Germans on March 21, 1084. For four years the endurance of the common citizens had baffled Henry; even yet many castles through the city and towers along the Tiber were held by the Papal partisans. Hildebrand retired to the security of the grim, massive Castle of St. Angelo across the river, while his ecclesiastical opponents rejoiced in the possession of the St. John Lateran, the scene of the mighty Synods of Church reform. An Assembly gathered there to elect Guibert once more as Clement III. The Pontiff in the castle was summoned to trial by the usurping Council, which, after three days' delay, passed sentence upon him. From the turrets of their lofty citadel, the Gibraltar of many a discredited Roman leader through the centuries, the imprisoned could have seen on Palm Sunday the triumphant procession of Guibert moving from the Lateran over the Tiber to the Papal consecration at St. Peter's. On Easter, the pageant was repeated, and Henry reached the haven of all German rulers, as he received the apostolic coronation as emperor at the hands of Clement in the basilica of the first Bishop of Rome.

All portions of the city had now been gained by the Northern arms, and the fate of that little,

unyielding man in St. Angelo seemed the question of but a few days, when there intervened the long expected deliverance by the Normans. The Abbot of Monte Cassino brought the news of six thousand knights and thirty thousand foot soldiers, approaching under the command of the redoubtable Robert Guiscard. The German emperor was ill prepared to withstand such an array. Quickly he left Rome along with his anti-Pope for the North, and three days later the banners of the feudal vassal of the Church came into sight. The citizens had closed the gates, for the Norman ever was both feared and hated by the Roman. After a delay, on May 28th, an assault by a picked band carried the Tower of St. Laurence, and the city was in the hands of a fierce soldiery of many races, while its leader hastened to set Hildebrand free. Soon a clash between the populace and the troops led to a ferocious, inhuman vengeance. In the midst of the desperate fighting, the sacred and classic city was ordered to be set on fire. Slaughter, rapine, and violence to women raged unchecked. The intercession of the Pope saved some of the churches. But thousands of the citizens were seized and sold into slavery. The pillage done by the Goths and Vandals in the fifth century at the fall of Rome was relatively inconsiderable. Only the devastation of the mercenaries of the Catholic prince, Charles the Fifth, in 1527, is comparable to this "Norman fury," wreaked in the name of the succor

of the Head of the Church. Half the city was destroyed. The Field of Mars had been burned as far as the Bridge of Hadrian. The thickly inhabited quarter of the Lateran lay in ruins up to the Colosseum. Henceforth the Lateran Gate was known as "the burned." The sections of the Cœlian and the Aventine were doomed to the desertion that succeeding ages have intensified. For many years after, Rome was a pitiful ghost of its former grandeur, and any residence it gave stood a mute but eloquent reproach to the Pope or the emperor within its borders.

Eight days after the winding-sheet of fire had covered street and palace, the Normans, with their booty and their prisoners, marched forth to the South, for the ambitious designs of Guiscard called him far distant. In the train of this cruel army, whose friendship had proven infinitely more deadly than its enmity, went Hildebrand. It was an exile of necessity. In the final arbitrament of the sword, with the Normans gone from Rome, there was no support left to the Pope against the return of the Germans. An effort of Henry to surprise Matilda resulted in a disastrous defeat to his own arms. A Council of Saxon prelates and nobles declared their continued allegiance to Hildebrand, but the rival King Herman consented to make terms with the emperor, and abandoned his adherents. Then all bishops in Germany who supported the reform party were ejected from their Sees. Guibert re-

turned undisputed to Rome in July to assert his Papal sway, while his monarch deferred coming many months.

Meantime the banished Pope had tarried awhile in the welcome repose of Monte Cassino, whose abbot, Didier, henceforth supplied the financial needs of his friend and superior. But Robert Guiscard had Hildebrand come for complete security to Salerno, lately taken from its Lombard count, and now the Norman capital. The Pontiff met with the deep reverence of the bishop and the people. A few faithful Churchmen had followed him from Rome. Others were chosen from the local clergy and elevated to the cardinalate, so that the forms of the Papal court were preserved. A Synod of this company was attempted, from which once again went forth the anathema against the unheeding and triumphing Henry, Clement III, and all their followers. Great confusion prevailed throughout the Church in Europe. The fate of the fugitive from St. Peter's remained long unknown. There were vague notions of a successor. Matilda held out unconquered; but National Churches and monasteries were divided, and the former condition of disunity and lack of discipline seemed to have returned. Now, a final pastoral letter issued from Salerno to this troubled Christendom. The farewell view of this epistle saw the time of the Anti-christ drawing nigh, yet, with all the vehemence of a Hebrew seer, Hildebrand declaimed against the

evil days. Peter Igneus bore the message in person to Cluny and the Christian centers. It said:

"The only reason which armed against us the princes of the nations and the princes of the priests is this, that we have not chosen to keep silence as to the danger which threatened the Holy Church, or to become the accomplice of those who did not blush to reduce the bride of Christ to slavery. Since the Church placed me against my will on the Apostolic throne, I have used all my efforts that the Holy Church should regain her ancient glory and become once more free, chaste, and catholic. To me, unworthy, the words of the prophet have been spoken, 'Cry aloud, and spare not.' Therefore, willing or unwilling, without shame and without fear, I cry aloud, without ceasing, to announce that the true faith, taught to our fathers, is at this day transformed into mere secular customs, and become the derision, not only of the devil, but also of Jews, Saracens, and pagans. The small number of those who still fear God fight chiefly for themselves, and not for the common salvation of their brethren. I implore and command you—I, your brother and unworthy master—to come to the help of St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church, and thus to merit the absolution of your sins and Divine benediction in this world and the next."

But now age and anxiety forced their claims upon this stubborn spirit. No news of aid came from beyond the Alps. Rome was seen to be closed

finally to his return. The vital force began to ebb in the tireless body. Salerno enjoyed a mediæval renown above all places for its medical knowledge and skill, but the city could furnish no balm for the steady decline of Hildebrand. He knew that his end was at hand and prepared to meet death with full assurance that mortal man was the conqueror. He gathered his clergy about him, and gave testimony to his unshaken conviction that his cause had been just and his principles true. Having been asked to name his successors, he designated Didier, Abbot of Monte Cassino, later Victor III; Otto, Bishop of Ostio, later Urban II; and Hugh, Bishop of Lyons. The company was enjoined to accept no Pope unless he was regularly elected and canonically ordained. The absolution of the dying Pontiff extended to the Christian world at large, save only Henry and Clement III, who could not be forgiven. Then, just one year after Robert Guiscard had come with violence to the relief of Rome, on May 25, 1085, Gregory VII received the last sacrament, and as the spirit paused to escape from the body, with one supreme effort, his voice, as that of an oracle, pronounced its own proud verdict upon the career that was closed: "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile."

The tomb of Hildebrand in the church of St. Matthew, which overlooks the blue Tyrrhenian sea, came to be strangely forgotten in the flight of years. Very tardily official honors have been accorded to

his memory. Gregory XIII, in correcting the Roman calendar in 1584, put his name in the sacred list. The canons of Salerno began to celebrate his feast, and Paul V in the seventeenth century gave permission for a wider observation of the saint's day. Benedict XIII placed the final seal upon the career of the mightiest Papal builder, and ordered in 1728 that the festival of Gregory VII should be solemnized throughout the Church.

CHAPTER XI.

THE HILDEBRANDINE EPISTLES.

EVEN as Leo IX, by his tours of apostolic visitation to the nations, created a new era for the Papacy through Europe, likewise in larger measure the Pontificate of Hildebrand shaped contemporary affairs by the agency of his official correspondence. The Epistles are his chief and all-important literary remains. The collection consists of nine books of three hundred and sixty-one letters. A tenth book has been lost, while two letters of an eleventh book are in existence. These writings give an accurate and complete account of the many mighty purposes that occupied Gregory VII. That tireless energy and aggressive program of his life find fullest expression within his own recorded pages. The contest waged for the clerical reforms and the fateful struggle over the investiture have their detailed documentary expression. Moreover, here is an authentic portrait of the relation the Church of Rome held to the interests of the several States. But the personal element predominates of necessity in the Epistles. Because the man of this ecclesiastical epoch made the office and identified himself as

the absolute embodiment of the spirit of St. Peter, these hundreds of letters relate the concerns and anxieties of the universal pastor. The inner life has also been laid bare, and all the aspirations, emotions, and decisions can be intimately known by the reader. Here is a complete and illuminated compound of political and spiritual autobiography.

In the year of his elevation, Hildebrand opened in his correspondence the crusade against the notorious clerical abuses. He wrote the Bishops of Aquì and Pavia, asking them to support Herlembald at Milan, and "to make St. Peter their debtor by going forth with the shield of faith and the helmet of salvation against Simon Magus, who had so deeply infected with the poison of his venality the Church of the holy Ambrose in Lombardy." Again, in 1073, he urged upon the Bishop of Salzburg that he enforce in Germany the decrees against the marriage of priests which the Council of Alexander had passed and the prelates had accepted. On the subject of the investiture of the clergy he bore record that "it is the object of our unwearied efforts to restore and renew the ancient and well-known law, so that in every Church the bishop charged to govern the people of God may be neither thief nor robber, but worthy of the name and office of a shepherd. We establish nothing new or of our own invention. We wish only that which the safety of all requires; namely, that in the ordination of bishops, according to the unanimous feelings of

the holy Fathers, the authority of the Gospel and the canons should be, above all, observed." In condemnation of disobedient priests, he addressed the dukes of Germany in 1075, saying, "They sin neither through ignorance nor improvidence; but, resisting with a presumptuous obstinacy the Holy Spirit, they cast away the divine laws with which they are acquainted, and they despise the apostolic decrees. Following their depraved desires in their evil doings, they both relax the rights of their authority by their offenses, and let loose the reins of sinning to others by their examples. The bishops of your land know that it is prohibited that those, who are promoted to any office in sacred orders by means of money, should have any further right to minister in the Holy Church, and that those who have taken wives should not celebrate masses. Since we learn that the divine offices among you are unworthily performed, it becomes us to guard against these things in some other way. Wherefore we turn to you and all in whose faith and devotion we confide, admonishing, whether the bishops speak or are silent, not to recognize in any sort the ministrations of those whom you know to have been simoniacally ordained, or to be living in married relations."

Gregory VII lifted his voice again and again in behalf of justice and order within the nations. At one time he demanded of maritime peoples protection for the shipwrecked, who were made the prey of the barbarous ghouls along the coasts. At

another, he interceded with the Danish king for mercy to certain miserable women within his kingdom who were tortured as witches. A protest was sent to France through its primate against the misrule of the land. The epistle read that "Men, filled with malice, as some pestilence, commit incessantly most execrable crimes, and respect nothing human or divine. What occurs in no other part of the world, relatives, even brothers, capture others, and, taking their property from them, make them finish their lives in extreme misery. They seize pilgrims who are going to and from the apostolic threshold, and cast them into dungeons. They put them to sharper tortures than any pagan would do, and demand of them more for a ransom than they possess. Your king also, like a robber, has taken a vast quantity of money from the merchants who lately came from many parts of the world to a certain fair in France. He who was bound to be the defender of the laws, became himself the depredator."

The Pope first felt the abuses in the Holy Land, and gave the initial summons to a crusade on the Saracens. His words were: "The Christians of the East have called upon me to come to their help. I have therefore exhorted all Christians to give their lives for their brethren, to defend the law of Christ, and thus to display the true nobility of the sons of God. What chiefly urges me to this enterprise is, that the Church of Constantinople,

now at variance with us, looks to the Holy See for the restoration of harmony. The Armenians, too, have strayed from their catholic faith. We, aided by the prayers of the faithful, will go thither to defend the faith and those who profess it, if Christ opens a way." In the previous year of 1073 he had written to Michael, the Emperor of Constantinople, and stated his desire to have the former harmony between the Churches of the East and West restored. Again, a remarkable interchange of communications occurs in the case of Anazir, the Saracen ruler of Mauritania in Africa, who had written to ask for the consecration of a Christian bishop over Hippo, and to announce also his liberation of captives of the faith of Rome. The answer of Hildebrand said: "God, without whom we can not do or even think anything that is good, has breathed this goodness into the heart of Anazir. He that lighteth every man that cometh into the world has in this thy purpose enlightened thy mind. For there is nothing of which God more highly approves than that, next to his love of his Maker, a man should cultivate that of his neighbor, and do naught to others which he would not that they should do to him. And this charity, due from and to all men, is more especially required between you and ourselves, who believe and confess, though in a different way, one God. The Apostle says, 'He is our peace, who hath made both one.'"

The correspondence of the Pope with the gov-

ernments of Europe extended to all boundaries. The exercise of priestly jurisdiction over secular affairs was frequently admitted, so that the record of the attempts to secure wider authority for Rome among old and new States is of leading interest. The earliest epistle of Gregory VII informed the princes of Spain that their kingdom belonged to St. Peter in his own right. The King of France was informed next, that unless he corrected his offenses, the Pope would endeavor to deprive him of his kingdom. The Archbishop of Rheims, later, fell under condemnation, and the Papal legate in the Council of Lyons pronounced Manasses removed from his office. Repeated advices to King Philip in 1080, and later, failed to move him to enforce the sentence. The weak and the growing nations placed the larger value upon the political guarantees of the Church, and resorted to its protection. The Norman Guiscard proclaimed boldly, yet diplomatically, that he had delivered the Sicilies from the power of the Greeks; but, that he might obtain the help of God, he had chosen to submit himself to the Pope, His vicar, with all the land conquered. Corsica sought the guardianship of the Church in 1077, and the letter of acceptance pointed out the fitness that an island, then the property of no earthly power by right, should recognize the lawful dominion of St. Peter. Sardinia acknowledged the Papal overlordship, and the epistle to the judges of the island said: "The Church ought to bestow upon you a

special solicitude. It is our desire, not only to be careful for the liberation of your souls, but even more anxiously to watch over the safety of your country. But if you shall not lend an obedient ear to our exhortation, you must not impute it to our inattention, but to your own fault, if any danger happens to your country."

Hildebrand on the east of the Adriatic created a new State when his legates, in 1076, crowned Swonimir, the Duke of Dalmatia, who forthwith took the name of King Demetrius. The Pope watched over the infant nation with jealous care and wrote Wezelin, a rebellious noble, as follows: "We warn your lordship and command you, in the name of the blessed Peter, no longer to dare to make war upon your sovereign. For be assured, whatever you attempt against him, you attempt against the Apostolic See. If you have any complaint to make against your king, it is from us you should demand judgment, rather than take arms against him in contempt of the Holy See. If you attempt to contravene our order, know, and hold for certain, that we will draw against you the sword of the blessed Peter, and punish you and your adherents, if you do not at once show yourself penitent."

A contest for the throne of Hungary between the cousins Solomon and Geisa resulted in an appeal to Rome. The German arms had given the succession to Solomon, who acknowledged the Emperor Henry as lord paramount. The Pontiff

assured Geisa of his sympathy, but sent a message full of rebuke to Solomon: "Your letters would have been received much more benignly, if your ill-advised position had not so greatly offended St. Peter. For, as you may ascertain from the elders of your country, the kingdom of Hungary belongs to the Roman Church, it having been devoutly delivered over by the King Stephen. You can not expect the favor of the blessed Peter, or our good will, unless, correcting your errors, you confess that the scepter of the kingdom which you hold is dependent upon apostolic and not imperial authority." Geisa evaded the expeditions of Henry IV, and maintained, until his death in 1077, his claims to rule against Solomon. The Papal favor was communicated to Geisa, and the lesson pointed out that God had not permitted his kingdom to hold the sovereignty, because it had been asserted in usurpation, through the intermediary of the King of Germany, rather than the Apostolic See. The son and successor, Ladislaus, having received a hint from the Pope, professed the allegiance of his land to St. Peter. Another dispossessed king, Dmitri of Russia, invoked the aid of the Church. The response of the Pope signified the acceptance by St. Peter of the fealty which the exile tendered, and in return there was assigned the right to govern the land which his brother Svitoslaf held. Henry IV also promised potent aid in return for large sums of silver; but neither the spiritual nor the temporal

support proved effectual, for Dmitri remained a wanderer.

In Poland Gregory VII advanced a step beyond the relations with the States above mentioned in the matter of the temporal jurisdiction of the Church. He wrote the Archbishop of Guesen to deprive Boleslaw of his rank and power as king, and place the country under an interdict. Boleslaw had raised himself from a dukedom to a kingdom, having gained independence from Henry IV in 1077, while that monarch was occupied with his struggle against Hildebrand and the Saxons. But the new king was a man of violent deeds, and when Stanislaus, the Bishop of Cracow, dared to excommunicate him for his sins, the answer of Boleslaw was to murder with his own hand the prelate at the cathedral's altar. The Papal condemnation of this act coincided with the public alienation, and the king was driven out of Poland, to take his own life later in despair of restoration. Most cordial relations existed between three successive kings of Denmark and Hildebrand. Sweyn was told that, since he showed due reverence to the mother Church, anything which could be justly conferred upon him might be had for the asking. An invitation was extended to have young Danes come to Rome to be trained in the spirit and practice of the Church. William of England enjoyed an equal approbation until he refused to do homage to Rome for his kingdom. The Apostolic Epistle addressed

the Conqueror as most beloved son, who deserved to be the gem of princes. The Pope desired him to be also a pattern of obedience to all the princes of the earth, and thus to be the first of princes in future glory. Yet the investiture in Church offices was always made by William without regard to Rome; free, it is true, from any taint of simony. The ambassadors of England visited the Papal court and brought acceptable gifts. Finally, Hubert, a legate from Rome, crossed the channel and demanded a more regular payment of Peter's pence, and that the king should profess himself the feudal man of the Pope. The answer was without threatening, but of uncompromising firmness: "I grant the request for the money which has been negligently levied. The other request I refuse. I owe not homage on my account, nor do I find that it has been performed by those before me." The canons of royal supremacy, fixed by William, kept the English Church under the direction of the Norman rulers, while the reverence allotted to the mother Church was mainly ceremonial.

By this review of the Pontifical correspondence, it is clear that Europe widely recognized Hildebrand as a judge and lawgiver with an authority higher than that of the civil rulers. With such a prestige accorded the Church, the extreme claims in the message to Herman of Metz, in 1081, were the consequent expression of omnipotence. The letter asked: "Who is ignorant that kings and dukes

derived their origin from those who, by pride, perfidy, and all manner of crimes, aimed at domineering over their fellow-men? Who, then, can doubt, little as he may have studied the subject, that priests are to be set above kings and to be the masters of all the faithful?" This zealous sway of Rome was designed to encourage in each State an independence of other political ties. The Pope said to the King of Hungary: "You know that your country, like many others, ought to be free and dependent on no other sovereignty save that of the Roman Church, whose subjects are treated, not as serfs, but as sons." Again he wrote: "The kingdom of Hungary ought to flourish in peace and maintain its own sovereignty, that its king may not degenerate into kinglet. But Solomon, by despising the noble patronage of St. Peter, has reduced himself to submitting to the German king and become a mere kinglet." The Venetians were told of the joy felt by the Holy See in their preservation of their ancient liberties, and assured that they should ever have cordial support.

Also the personal communications to a long list of civil authorities and to those in positions of influence and trust reveal a diversity and nobility of exhortation that may well bear citation. To Thibault, Count of Champagne, it was written: "Friend, thou who, by God's permission, hast command over many men, is it not just that, in return, thou shouldst consecrate to the service of the Lord at

least one man—that is to say, thyself—by endeavoring to preserve all the purity of thy heart and soul? Those very duties which thou wouldst not have thy vassals neglect to perform toward thee, art thou not bound thyself to pay them to Him who has created thee in His image and ransomed thee with His blood?”

To the King of Denmark was sent this lofty counsel: “With sincere affection we implore you to strive to exercise the royalty confided to you according to the will of God, to make your virtues match with the great name of king which you bear, and to enthrone in your heart that justice which gives you the right to command your subjects. You know that kings and beggars alike must end in dust and ashes; that we must every one appear at that last judgment, all the more terrible for us priests and kings, as we must give account, not only for ourselves, but for all those who shall have obeyed us. Live, then, my dearest brother, and reign, so that you may be able to stand without fear before the face of the Eternal King, and receive from His Divine hands a crown everlasting and beyond compare, in recompense for having worthily borne your earthly dignities.”

To the King of Norway the message was: “It is you of whom the Gospel speaks, ‘They shall come from the east and from the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of God.’ Hasten thither, then. You are at the

end of the world ; but if you quicken your steps you shall be associated in the royalty of the first fathers. Hasten to the goal which faith, love, and desire point out to you. Pass through life thinking of the nothingness of human glory. Use your power to defend and protect widows and orphans, and not only love righteousness, but serve her with all your energies."

To William of England, the Conqueror, the Papal exhortation ran: "If thou hadst raised some wretched serf to high estate, wouldst thou not expect that he should honor thee? Now God has taken thee, like a wretched serf of sin, to make of thee freely a most powerful king. Think and strive always, therefore, to glorify the almighty Jesus, to whom thou owest all that thou art, and do not let thyself be hindered by the crowd of evil rulers. Evil has always the multitude on her side; good has but the chosen few. In battle the more cowards there are, the greater is the glory of the brave knight who stands firm. Yes, the more the great ones of this world, blinded by pride, rush to plunge into the abyss, the more fitting is it for thee, whom God has cherished more than them, to increase thy greatness by humility and obedience."

To the counts and princes of Spain there went this solemn warning: "You know, and you see evidence of it daily, how ephemeral life is and how deceitful are our human hopes. Willing or unwilling, we must always hasten towards our end, and

be always exposed to a certain fate, without knowing when death will strike us. Whatever earthly thing is gained can never be long retained. Think, then, of this end; think of the bitterness of the moment when you must leave this world to rot under ground. Think of the account you must render for your deeds, and fortify yourselves against the coming dangers. Consecrate your arms, your wealth, your power, not only to secular pomp, but chiefly to the honor and service of the Eternal King. Govern, administer in such a manner as to make your well-doing an offering of righteousness, acceptable to the Almighty; so that you may be able to depend on Him who alone gives safety to kings and can snatch you from death; and may translate you from your perishable honors to the divine glory which has neither rival, nor corruption, nor end."

When Matilda, Queen of England, desired to make gifts such as the Pope would select, she was answered: "In place of presents of gold, jewels, or all precious things of this world, O queen, the gifts which you may render me, and which I ask of you, are: Lead a pure life; share your wealth with the poor; love God and your neighbor; and esteem and cherish all that is honest and true." Gregory VII wrote yet to another queen: "Inscribe in your heart that the Sovereign of heaven, the Queen exalted above all the choirs of angels, the honor and glory of all women, did not disdain to

live on earth in poverty and holy humility. God will only acknowledge as queen the woman who shall have ruled her life by the fear and love of Jesus. Thus it is that so many holy women, who have been of the poor of this world, are glorified in heaven and earth; while so many queens, and even empresses, are dishonored before God and before man."

From the Epistles of Hildebrand, finally, there is the revelation of his profound convictions as to himself and his office. This brave spirit had one continuing fear lest he do violence to the justice of God and jeopardize his own salvation. The responsibilities of his Pontificate filled him with a deep sense of awe. An early utterance was: "My conscience bears me witness how unequal I should have judged myself to such a weight, and with what anxiety I should have sought to avoid the title of apostolic dignity. But since the way of a man is not in his own hand, I could not maintain my own wishes in opposition to the will of Heaven. Wherefore I solicitously watch how, by God's blessing, I may faithfully administer those things which pertain to the advantage of true religion and to the welfare of the flock of the Lord. I am urged alike by fear, lest negligence in the duties of my stewardship should one day accuse me before the Supreme Judge, and again by the love which is due from me to St. Peter." So his administration, cast in the

age it was, ever took a militant form, and aggressive resistance to evil, as he saw it, continued to be his all-absorbing purpose. An intimate expression of his difficulties was sent to Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury: "If we escape the sentence of the Divine wrath, we must rise against many, and must incense them against our own soul. Now is the fulfillment of the prophetic passage, 'The kings of the earth stand up, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord and against his Christ,' while the bishops and those who should be the shepherds of souls, pursuing the glory of the world, lead their charges into every wickedness by their example. You will see both how fearful it is for us to abstain from opposing such persons, and also how difficult it is to oppose them."

Of the King of Germany Hildebrand wrote: "I will do for King Henry all that justice or mercy permit me to do without peril to my soul or his." And yet the Pope identified himself absolutely with St. Peter, recording: "To the apostles, and to their successors, the Lord deigned to say, 'He that heareth you, heareth Me, and he that despiseth you, despiseth Me.' He therefore that is ready to pay faithful obedience to God is careful, while we speak in accordance with the canons of those who have gone before us, to attend to our admonitions, as though he received them from the mouth of the apostle himself."

The burdens of the contest seemed at times too heavy for him, as he laid bare his soul to his friend, Hugh of Cluny: "I find myself so oppressed with the weight of my duties that no hope of salvation remains to me but in the mercy of Christ alone. Did I not trust to attain to a better life and to do service to the holy Church, I would on no account remain in Rome, in which city it has been by compulsion, as God is my witness, that I have dwelt for twenty years past. Between a daily renewed grief and a hope too long deferred, shaken by a thousand storms, I live as always dying. I wait the coming of Him who has bound me with His fetters and carried me back to Rome. I cry to Him perpetually, 'Hasten! Do not delay! Set me free! If Thou hadst laid so great a burden upon Moses or upon Peter, I think it would have overwhelmed them. How, then, will it be with me, who, compared to them, am nothing? It must needs be, O Jesus, that Thou Thyself, with Thy Peter, guide the Pontificate, or that Thou consent to see Thy servant fall and the Pontificate fall with him.'"

After a severe attack Gregory wrote Countess Beatrice and her daughter: "I have recovered from a serious illness beyond all hope, and I am sorry for it. For my soul was sighing for that celestial country where He who sees my sadness and my labor prepares rest and refreshment for my weariness. I am given back to my usual toils, my cease-

less cares, condemned to suffer daily like a mother in travail, yet without being able to save the Church from shipwreck." Yet, again, his trust and deliverance have equally clear testimony as he confesses: "O, Jesus, Divine Consoler, true God and true man, when Thou holdest out a hand to my misery, Thou givest me back joy; but of myself I am ever dying, and only find moments of life in Thee!"

In addition to the resource of his own prayers, the Pope sent the message to the monks of Val-lombrosa: "Pray to Almighty God to give me strength to bear the insupportable burden of my authority, and to bring back the holy Church to the footing of the ancient religion." Through the years the attitude of intense hostility to evil doing did not change. He had counted the cost of the stand he took, and his faith did not falter. To another monastic friend, the Abbot of Monte Cassino, near the end of his life Hildebrand passed judgment upon the fight he had made: "If I had been willing to let the princes, and great ones of the world reign by the guidance of their passions; if I had been silent when I saw them trample under foot God's justice; if, at the peril of their souls and of mine, I had concealed their crimes; if I had not had righteousness and the honor of the holy Church at heart, I might better have counted upon wealth, repose, and homage more surely than could any of my predecessors. But knowing that a bishop is

never more a bishop than when he is persecuted for right's sake, I resolved to brave the hatred of the wicked by obeying God rather than provoke His anger by guilty complaisance towards them. As to their threats, I pay no regard to them, being always ready to die rather than consent to partake of their iniquity and betray the good cause."

CHAPTER XII.

THE MAN AND HIS MISSION.

AN unknown monk had issued from his cloister, joined battle with the Universal Church abuses of his day, and made it possible for those who thereafter wore the tiara to assume rank and power equal to that of angels and gods. The contrast of the person and the purpose of the man in every way was extreme. His tongue found utterance only in a stammer, but his proclamation of conduct and rule fell with the clearness of a clarion upon the ears of Europe. In his weak physical presence he has been compared to the Apostle Paul. He deprecated the rustic style of his writings, yet his epistles and judgments became oracles to succeeding ages. Hildebrand, in temper of mind and in concept of life, was monastic. His training had been in the strictest school of implicit obedience. The austerities of the regular clergy ever bound him, yet he did not remain in a cell; his monkish ideals and doctrines were applied to a career passed in the council chamber and in a militant society. He had the capacity of intense concentration, of the untiring pursuit of a course when once it had been

chosen. His earliest engagements were of an administrative nature. As sub-deacon to the Church of Rome, he had charge of the practical part of the hierarchy; its business interests. His skill in financial matters did not forbid his occupation with religious and political affairs. In all forms of clerical activity his pre-eminent talent for organizing and executing found expression. The learning of Hildebrand was not profound, when compared with the minds of certain noted Churchmen, nor did he lay claim to any marked originality. He was, however, thoroughly versed in the Scriptures. His intimate acquaintance with the Bible appeared in his addresses and epistles, where the texts constantly clothed his thoughts and enforced his arguments. The Old Testament conditions seemed to him to be reproduced in the eleventh century, and he spoke like a Hebrew prophet of old against the sins and the wrong-doers of the period. "Thus saith the Lord" sounded continually from his mouth.

While a consuming hostility from many quarters converged upon Hildebrand, at the same time no reformer ever drew to himself friends of truer loyalty and fervor. Between him and the gifted Hugh, Abbot of Cluny, was knit an affection which the monks likened to that of David and Jonathan. Peter Damiani, the most impetuous and combative of Churchmen, yielded an unconditional service to his Papal master. The intrepid and noble loyalty of the Countess Matilda richly earned for her a

memorial place in St. Peter's itself, where her monument bears the legend, "Champion of the Apostolic See." The powerful, widespread support of the monasteries chiefly made possible the revolution in the Church. Not only Cluny and Monte Cassino gave their sons freely to further the Hildebrandine program, but also the monks of Camaldole, Vallombrosa, and Fonte Avellana, in Italy, were enlisted with equal zeal. In Germany the Abbey of Hirschau became the center of the spirit of reform that prevailed in the ninety foundations, new and old, which quickened under the Cluniac influence in the third quarter of the eleventh century. Everywhere the regular clergy made common cause with Gregory VII. The nature and the career of the Pope will be adequately conceived only when one has observed that he steadfastly believed his conduct to be in absolute harmony with the will of God. It required a confidence astounding to modern notions to assume that in every instance he acted as a Divine instrument and knew the Divine purpose perfectly. This was the very essence of the doctrine of Papal infallibility, which, however much tacitly accepted through the centuries, waited for official promulgation until the Council of 1870.

Hildebrand completely and ceaselessly identified himself with the Church, the visible embodiment of God and the faithful upon earth. In a strict sense he may be said to have had no private aims or personal ends. It is true there showed ambition and

willingness to advance in station, but these sentiments were entertained solely for the benefit of the ecclesiastical organization, and that Rome might be more largely the head of all authority. His peculiar temper thus led the Pontiff to merge his individuality in his clerical environment. He was an ecclesiastic through and through, rather than a distinct, independent personality. The fundamental article of his creed and philosophy was that the Church must be the savior of society. But that salutary force must be a pure one, and in the eleventh century the religious body needed to be reformed. The sphere of a mere reformer of abuses could not satisfy Hildebrand, while the loftier work of a builder challenged his fullest powers. Men were recalled as not for centuries to the ancient vows; but even more potent incentives were fixed for the future leaders of the Church. Upon the cleansed foundations a more stately and more imperious structure rose. The life of the Papal architect had the one purpose to bring the Church to the largest condition of liberty. Such independence in the feudal age meant that the hierarchy should be accorded a universal monarchy. The outlines of spiritual authority had been conceived by preceding Pontiffs; but Gregory VII first saw the logical entire result of these assertions of power. He alone possessed the audacity to pursue and to realize such stupendous plans. Even in the onward, vast sweep of his program, he could behold the radiant goal

of a purified, triumphant Papacy, shaping the destinies of all mortals, princes and peasants alike. To accomplish his designs rare sagacity and statesmanship were required. His keen insight led him to the points of vantage, and he proved himself the master of many critical situations.

As the monk of Cluny, he became the pre-eminent evangel of the reform movement, already in progress before his day. He had a profound appreciation of the power and the possibilities that lie in close organization. He secured the perfection of centralization as all the clergy became more closely bound to Rome, and the Apostolic rights were enforced over the National Churches. When Hildebrand directed the demands of the Cluniac party to further his supreme object, the freedom of the Church, he launched upon Europe a revolutionary idea. That was the emancipation of the ecclesiastical system from feudalism. He offered a definite program against secular influence and dominion. He fought feudalism with feudalism, and out of the chaos of Italy skillfully contracted the alliances which made his cause formidable to the stoutest imperialist. The period of confusion in German affairs was seized to plan and push the struggle for clerical deliverance from the laity. So intimate was his knowledge of the policies of many States, and so direct his influence, that in the shifts of kings, queens, and knights, as well as of bishops, Europe

served as a veritable chess-board to the Papal bidding.

The other element of character commensurate with the genius of Gregory VII was his will. He had the pertinacity of purpose which never rests short of success. He described the era in which he labored as an iron age, and clearly his course of action, once chosen, proved as inflexible as the period. His decisions were accompanied by a height of courage that has made among the world's leaders the name of Hildebrand a synonym for bravery. At sixty years he moved fearlessly on to the most unpopular projects, and when perils thickened he grew the more dauntless. In intellectual courage he shrunk from no conclusions of his beliefs, and in every sphere there appeared the same marvelous compound of boldness and zeal. Yet this hero knew self-restraint as well, and the long delays until reform could be fully inaugurated. He asked no one to incur a risk that he did not assume himself. To be loftiest in dignity meant with him to be foremost in toil. The untiring energy and ceaseless diligence bore testimony to the ever masterful mind and intention. Whatever the mishap or opposition, the sacredness of the cause was his consolation, and faith made sure that God's plan, as His vicar interpreted it, must win the day.

The methods of Hildebrand in advancing his beliefs and policy reflect his nature and his century.

The interests attacked could not fail to offer violent resistance, and he was willing to meet his opponents with equal vigor. As the Divine instrument he conceived his duty to be that of an avenger, and cited for his authority the terrifying malediction, "Cursed be the man who keeps back his sword from blood." Reforms had been so long fruitlessly preached that nothing less than a rule of relentless compulsion without exceptions could break the chains of persistent practices. He has been condemned for a refusal to compromise; but in his conception the conditions did not admit of it. Some of the ancient Roman severity would seem to have been demanded, just as later, when the Church of itself was not able to correct its abuses and be purged, God sent a sharp physician in Martin Luther. The heaviest charges lodged against Gregory VII have been that his bearing and procedure were entirely un-Christlike. There is the admission, grudging or not, that he rose superior to the gross and sensual vices, and was free from the prevalent covetousness. But the hostile critic does not weigh these negative virtues against his indictment that the Pope had no compunctions in the choice of means to attain his ends. The count is urged that he employed many artifices, was lacking in charity and justice, and was cruel. He has been branded as a politician pre-eminently. It is true, one can observe in his career instances of calculation and cunning. Yet to pass a sweeping sentence upon Hildebrand and pronounce him

merely a conspicuous exponent of statecraft seems far wide of the mark. However resourceful he proved for many emergencies, he totally failed at other times to use the tact of which any ordinary politician would have availed himself. Having a fixed purpose once in view, the spirit of no compromise led him into antagonisms that the intriguer would have avoided. It is the common objection of all ages, leveled against the successful administrator and the doer of great deeds, that they have been unscrupulous in their methods. Hildebrand can not be proved to be an ambitious hypocrite nor an arbitrary egotist. The constant conviction that he was the spokesman of the law of Heaven and its executive against unrighteousness and rebellion to the declared ordinances of the Church, gave him a majesty that was unique and inspiring. But the world will ever hold that humanity remains fallible, and the objections which may fairly be sustained against Gregory VII belong to the limitations of the mortal. Intemperate language was used by him; such was the mediæval practice of expression. Once he gave affectionate regard to King Henry upon confession of shortcomings and pledge of amendment. His relations with his close associates, and his counsels to the leaders in many nations, attest to the milder side of Hildebrand's nature and his supreme regard for gentleness, humility, and justice.

Two of his contemporaries supply a standard of

comparison as to the consistency of his career. Lanfranc possessed greater learning and showed more tact than Hildebrand, yet his belief in the authority of the Church was as strong as that of the Pope. Under the dictation of the despotic Norman conqueror the English Primate had to accept the statutes of royal supremacy. Peter Damiani, a typical "hot gosseller," bore frantic testimony against the sins of the age, yet he wanted to flee to his cell to escape the conflict. On the other hand, the convictions of Gregory VII constrained him to remain in the thickest of the fray, and brave every dart of the enemy, that the kingdom of righteousness might come to abide in the earth.

A curious creed of action has been reported to the world as alleged to have been found among the letters of Hildebrand. It essays to give a summary of his Herculean, revolutionary program. The series of doctrines of omnipotence therein narrated seem rather to be the product of some obscure collector, who, in later centuries, substituted his personal interpretation of the life and the claims of the Pope. The score and more of planks in this pretended Papal platform can pass for what one imagines Hildebrand may have said, rather than his actually and soberly enunciating them. The so-called *Dictatus Papæ* deal with the questions of the nature and authority of the Roman Church, the peculiar position of the Pontiff at Rome, his relation to the clergy, to bishops, and to Synods and

Councils, and his powers over temporal princes, the laity, and the Christian believer universally. The bald statements of this document read like an authentic chart for the course of the Roman Catholic system. There is but one Universal Church. The Church has never erred. All appeals must be made to Rome. The place of the Pope is unique. His legates must be obeyed in every Ecclesiastical Assembly. His feet are kissed by princes; kings may be removed by the Pope, and supreme powers of judgment are conferred upon him.

First and foremost, the mission of Hildebrand was to raise the morality of the Church. His labors as a whole yielded a twofold result. Primarily, the bounds of the religious authority and functions were unmistakably defined as never before, whatever may have been the traditional title-deeds of dominion. Secondly, the laws of the Church were re-enacted and extended; at the same time the rigid enforcement of existing statutes was ordered. These services brought to pass largely the desired religious independence. By the College of Cardinals the choice of the Pontiff was rescued from the local aristocracy and from German dictation, while the investiture of the clergy at spiritual hands opened other careers to Churchmen than those of feudal subjects of the civil power. Rome became, in the plan of Hildebrand, also the standard of authority for all of Europe. It was the final court of appeal

in matters of justice and morality. To perform this office the machinery was perfected which extended the rule of the Pope far and wide. Apostolic legates went to secular and religious assemblies to declare the Papal decision, or to summon to the capital of Christendom those who were to be heard and judged. The Synods were preserved, and all available agencies of the hierarchy were readjusted to the largest efficiency. The anathema and sentence of excommunication were employed with increased frequency, and their terrors furnished most potent weapons in this age of compulsion and superstition. Thus out of the past violence and disorder there was recognized to exist at Rome control and responsibility. The ten centuries had furnished the master-builder with a plentiful supply of suitable materials, out of which he wrought confidently the permanent ecclesiastical edifice.

It was, again, the mission of Hildebrand to strengthen the unity of the Church. He planned for a uniformity of ritual, and brought into one collection what was known as the Roman Breviary. The national foundations were bound more closely to the Italian authority. The clergy, under celibacy and freedom from simony, changed its standard entirely, and, as an order apart, became animated by an all-inclusive, corporate spirit. The humblest priest at the most remote point was yet in touch with Rome, thus to be stimulated and supported in

his contest with wrong-doing. Leo IX had made personal visitations to re-establish the bond between the Papacy and the distant communicants, so enlarging the esteem of the people for the institution. Hildebrand, by his superior organization, rendered a more universal office; for he has been credited with having co-ordinated the entire social constitution of Catholicism.

But the well-known fact is that the Roman Ecclesia evolved into the Roman Curia. The independence of the Church in the Middle Ages fostered an absolutism, and the religious autocracy became as supreme as the secular. To this Gregory VII must be named as the chief contributor. In his struggle with the Empire he may be regarded as desiring to subordinate politics to morals; but all his concepts were feudal, and therefore he has the limitations of his century. The principles involved in this issue were too far-reaching to permit of an unconditional settlement in favor of either party, Church or State. When the Pope declared that a bishop must not be invested by a prince, he did not arrange for any ceremony by which the civil power should be recognized. For the Churchman to be in the midst of secular affairs, and yet irresponsible to the State, was an untenable condition. The compromise reached in the Concordat of Worms, in 1122, allotted the secular and the religious element each its proper share in the official who must exer-

cise a double function. This was, to be sure, a vast gain over that allowed to the Church before the Hildebrandine era.

The mission of this Man of the Kingdom has been largely related to his personality as well as to his program. His influence was not only supreme in his age, but he has been the most potent factor to fashion the Church, both mediæval and Roman, through succeeding ages. For one hundred years after him the Papal See was held by a line of monks who had his ideals, but not his genius. Innocent III, at the zenith of the Papal dominion in 1215, realized simply the plans of the great Builder. Leo XIII, before his election to the Roman Primacy, made a pilgrimage, in 1877, to Canossa. This ablest leader of many decades bore testimony, that "since the day of St. Peter, there is no hand whose work is so conspicuous in the constitution of the Church as that of Hildebrand. The Church is to-day what he made it." In the recent battle in France over the separation of Church and State, when the Papal Encyclical of "Vehementer Nos" appeared on February 11, 1906, in condemnation, Pius X was acclaimed as a second Hildebrand. Through all the years, the ancient enmity to Gregory VII has not entirely disappeared. The French Church was strenuous in its protests in the eighteenth century when Benedict XIII appointed his canonization. All who advocate the divine right of kings to rule have cherished an unending hatred

for the Pope who first dared assign a secondary rank to a ruler. Germany, in modern times, has recorded its antagonism to the Roman political idea as vigorously as in the days of Henry IV. Near this king's former castle at Würzburg has been erected a monument whose inscription bears the words of Bismarck, the Iron Chancellor, uttered in 1872: "To Canossa we do not go." Thus, whenever the political heritage of Hildebrand is involved, there is strife, ever as of old. To wrest the Church from the dictation of the Empire, the mission of the man had to be war. Such a ceaseless fight led him at the end to suggest as possible that his death in exile might be taken as the gauge of his entire career and labor. There has been much confusion and disagreement in the estimate of the man, some of it from prejudice, and much by reason of ignorance. Most curious is the reference of Shakespeare, who made Falstaff boast to Prince Hal: "Turk Gregory never did such deeds in arms." Baleful as have been the deductions from certain precepts of Hildebrand, yet when he is regarded in the perspective of his own times, he wins in all fairness the award of greatness. Grant that in his supreme position he claimed all but a secondary divinity for himself, then our human judgments will be clarified.

In absolute devotion to a great cause, and that the arduous one of reform, Hildebrand is an example for all who would serve their day and genera-

tion. He had ever a profound sense of his duty, and never failed to weigh solemnly his personal responsibility to God for sin and unrighteousness in others. He was a religious enthusiast, who did not stop to count any cost of sacrifice, nor would he admit of any obstacle in the path of his purpose for the Church. Devotion and love for the Church equal to his have been most rare in the annals of men. In his sufferings for his cause he was truly heroic, and under assaults he rose to real moral grandeur. As is true of every man who has wrought things worthily, Hildebrand was a seer of visions. His ascetic training committed him to the communings of the closet. But when he faced the world he was no dreamer of dreams. Life was most active, and no great statesman or Churchman has been more practical than this Master-BUILDER. He was the inspired interpreter of the contemporary needs in religion and society. He gathered up into himself the ideas of the era, and by the genius of his creative, constructive mind, transmitted them into deeds which crown him with imperishable renown.

INDEX

	PAGE
ADELAIDE, mother of Bertha	145
Alexander II.....	87
Accused of Simony.....	90
His controversies.....	91
Civil war in Rome.....	93
Schism	94
His death	102
Anarchy in Italy.....	36
Anselm elected Pope	87
BEATRICE.....	71, 139
Benedictines.....	43
Benzo, Bishop of Piedmont.	89
Berengar.....	67, 163
Bertha, wife of Henry IV,	99, 143, 145
Boniface.....	37
Bruno elected Pope, as Leo IX.....	59
CADALUS, anti - pope, as Honorius II.....	89
Celibacy, clerical.....	49
Made imperative.....	121
Cencius, the brigand,	128, 129, 134
Church and papacy.....	23
Becomes a secular power.	26
Clement II.....	11
Clement III elected anti-pope.....	176
Clergy, secular and regular.	45
Concubinage of the clergy.	46
Condition of the clergy....	39
Corruption of the Church..	41
DAMASUS II.....	59
Damiani, Peter,	66, 72, 74, 95, 99
Dark Ages.....	39
Dead Pope on trial before council	35
Decretals, pseudo-Isidorian.	29
Donation of Constantine...	29

	PAGE
ELEVENTH century.....	12
Europe divided.....	13
FEUDALISM.....	48
Fulk the Black.....	40
GEBHART becomes Pope...	70
Gerard chosen Pope.....	77
German influence in the election of Popes.....	57
Germany in the lead.....	14
Godfrey of Lorraine.....	71
Godfrey the Hunchback, son of Godfrey.....	101
Gregory I.....	25
" II.....	26
" III.....	26
" VI.....	8
Gregory VII (See HILDEBRAND.)	
Guibert (Clement III).....	176
Guiscard, Robert,	111, 168, 171, 175
HENRY III, Emperor. 10, 18, 58	
Henry IV, Emperor,	88, 99, 119, 126
Excommunicated.....	136
Submits to the Pope....	145
At Canossa.....	148
His humiliation.....	149
Absolution granted.....	150
The results.....	154
Battle near Leipsic: Henry defeated	169
Gains success in Italy....	170
Leaves Rome.....	177
Herman of Luxemburg,	172, 178
HILDEBRAND:	
In household of Gregory VI	10
Birth and baptism.....	18
Education	20
At Cluny	21

PAGE	PAGE
Hildebrand—	Hugh of Cluny..... 66
A master-builder..... 38	Hugh the White,
Monastic reformer..... 46	96, 104, 110, 127, 132
Influence with Leo IX... 61	INVESTITURE of Bishops,
Appointed sub-deacon... 61	123. 128
Made a cardinal..... 66	JOHN XII..... 35
Sent to France..... 72	Deposed..... 36
Enlarged activity..... 96	LATERAN council..... 78
Elected Pope..... 104	Ecclesiastical con-
Takes the name of Gre-	stitution..... 79
gory VII..... 105	College of Cardinals.... 79
Diplomacy..... 107	Cardinals to elect Popes. 80
Relations with the em-	Decrees of the council... 82
pire 108	LAY INVESTITURE, Orders
Claims supreme author-	against..... 165
ity..... 110, 114	Leo IX 61
Sends Hugh the White	Reformer 62
to Spain..... 110	Visits France..... 63
Gregory and the Nor-	Return to Italy..... 65
mans 111	Aggressive papacy..... 67
Purifying the Church... 114	As a warrior..... 68
Sends letter to the em-	His death..... 69
peror..... 128	MARRIAGE OF THE CLERGY,
Taken prisoner by Cen-	50, 66, 76
cius..... 130	Benedict's Edicts on.... 51
The German Bishops re-	Matilda..... 71, 101, 139, 144
nounce their allegiance	Monasticism..... 43
to the Pope..... 132	NICHOLAS I..... 27
Message of Henry to the	Crowned with the Tiara. 28
Pope..... 133	Nicholas II..... 77
Anathema of Pope against	His death at Florence... 86
Henry 136	Norman Sack of Rome.... 177
Life and death struggle.. 137	OTTO, German emperor.... 57
The Pope gains adher-	PATRONS AND BISHOPS.... 42
ents 140	Pope as successor of Peter.. 25
Henry yields to the Pope. 145	Popes between Nicholas and
The Pope at Canossa.... 146	Benedict IX, 39..... 35
The papacy triumphant.. 151	Priests, how constituted... 42
Arbitrator between Henry	RIVAL POPES: Benedict IX,
and Rudolph..... 159	Gregory VI, Sylvester
Renews ban against	III..... 8
Henry 166	Rome as capital 15
Incites ire of Teuton and	Rome, the Eternal City... 33
Lombard bishops..... 167	
An exile from Rome.... 178	
At Salerno..... 179	
His death..... 181	
Pope's correspondence... 184	
His prestige..... 192	
The man and his mis-	
sion..... 202	

PAGE	PAGE
Rudolph elected rival emperor.....157	Synods at Rome.....120
Civil war in the empire..160	Decrees of Synod of 1075. 122
Death on the battlefield..169	Action of Synod, 1076....134
SIMONY.....II, 47, 49, 75, 117	TRADITIONS of authority.. 30
Spain..... 14	Trial by fire..... 98
Spiritual and temporal rule. 35	Truce of God..... 54
Stephen IX..... 73	VICTOR II..... 70
Sudden death at Florence. 76	Plans for a council at
Sutri 7	Rheims..... 72
Council at 9	Dies at Florence..... 72
Synod at Mainz..... 63	WILLIAM, the Norman100
Investigation of clerical crimes..... 64	

DISCARD

